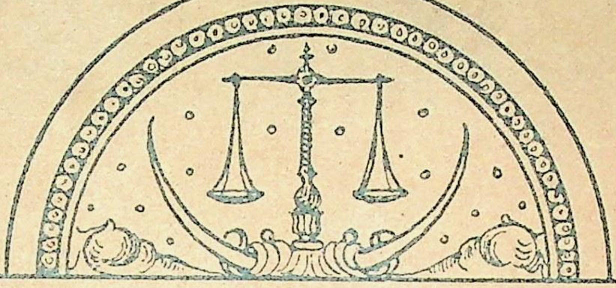
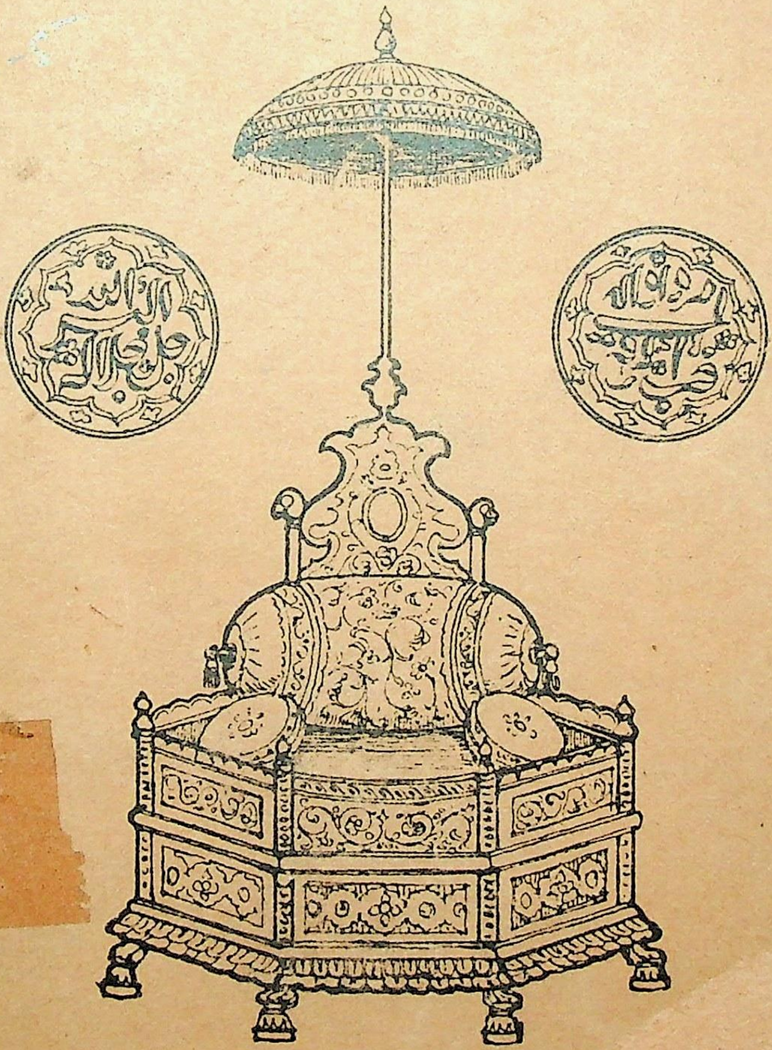
MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

1526 — 1761





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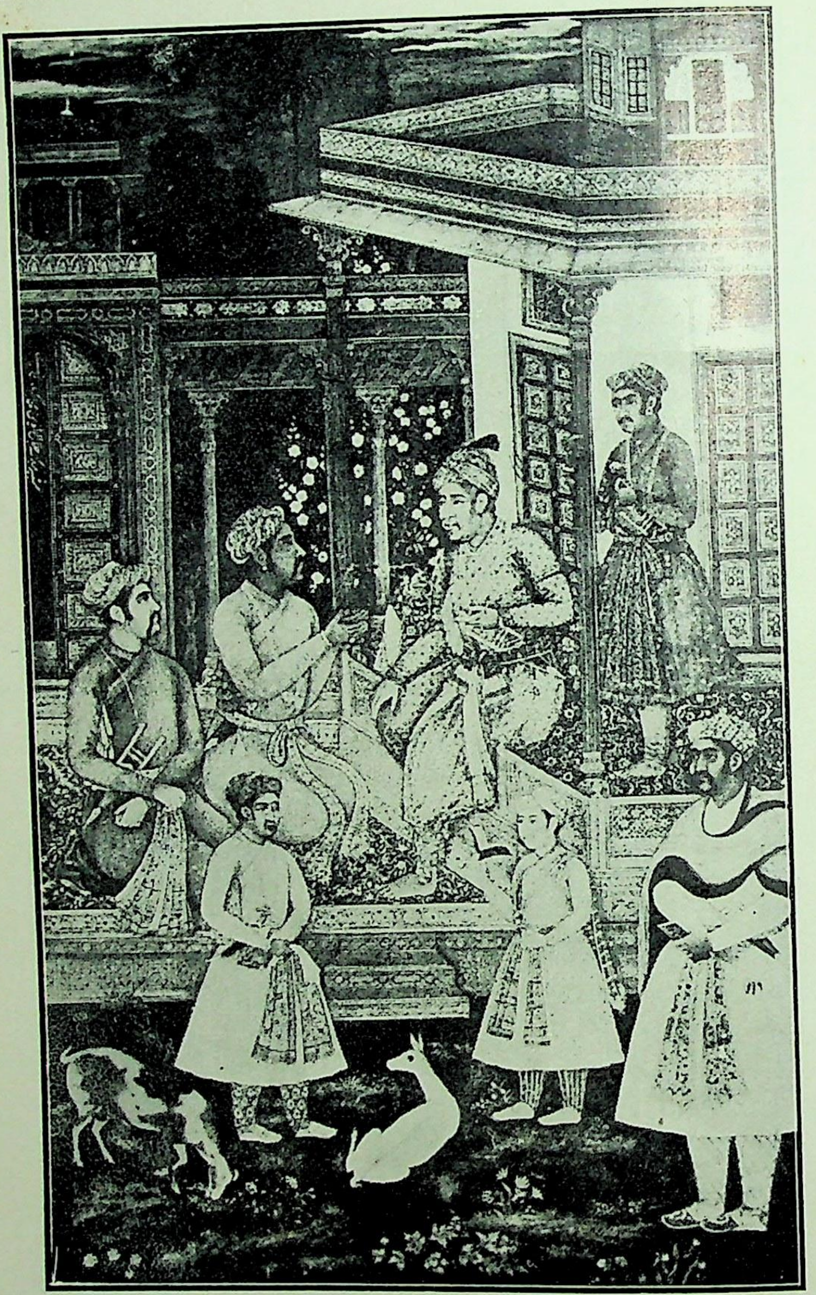
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AKBAR AND TWO MANSABDARS

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

A systematic study including source material

BY

S. R. SHARMA, M.A.

Revised Edition

KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE
1940

First Edition 1934
Revised „ 1940

راستی موجب رضائی خداست
کس ندیدم که گم شد از ره راست

'Truth is the means of pleasing God;
I never saw any one lost on the right road.'
—INSCRIPTION ON AKBAR'S SEAL

To know anything thoroughly
nothing accessible must be excluded.
—SIR OLIVER LODGE

Printed by M. N. Kulkarni, at the Karnatak Printing Press, Chira Bazar, Bombay and Published by him at the Karnatak Publishing House, Chira Bazar, Bombay 2.

PREFACE

The first edition of this book was published in 1934. Though copies of it have not been in the market for more than an year now, I regret I could not meet the need earlier owing to other preoccupations. In the present edition references to other literature on various topics dealt with in the book have been brought up to date and improvements short of rewriting the text have been effected. It is therefore hoped that readers will find in this an even more helpful guide to the study of Mughal history than in its predecessor. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the salient features of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarising the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of this book.

Rev. H. Heras, S. J., while commending it observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method". Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai found "the principal merit" of the work in "the skilful piecing together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C. S. S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While my reviewer in the *Islamic Culture* credited me with having treated my subject with "enlightened sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the Historical sources available to him in English," I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by the author while teaching the subject he has spared no pains to boil down the bewildering mass of material for the benefit of the more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to

represent all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have acted on the motto " to know anything thoroughly nothing accessible must be excluded ;" with what result, it is for my impartial critics to judge.

My indebtedness to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically recount in this short Preface. The detailed references in the footnotes are intended to be guides to deeper study no less than acknowledgments of my sources.

Willingdon College,
January 1940.

S. R. SHARMA

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INTRODUCTION

"No study has so potent an influence in forming a nation's mind and a nation's character as a critical and careful study of its past history. And it is by such study alone that an unreasoning and superstitious worship of the past is replaced by a legitimate and manly admiration."—R. C. DUTT.

The period of nearly two and half centuries that forms the subject of this study is one of the most brilliant epochs in Indian History. In 1526, Zahīru-d dīn Muhammad Bābur, by his victory over Ibrāhīm Lodī in the first battle of Pānīpat, ushered in a new era in India and a new dynasty on the throne of Delhi, as Henry VII had done in England after his triumph on the field of Bosworth only forty years earlier (1485). The Age of the Mughals in India was memorable in many ways as of the Tudors in England. The first task of the two adventurers, Henry in England and Bābur in India, was not dissimilar: both had to make themselves secure on their newly won thrones; both had to contend against champions, either legitimate or pretentious, of the disestablished powers; both, in brief, aimed at the establishment of a strong but benevolent monarchy, each in a country newly made his own. If Henry Tudor sought to win the hearts of his subjects and bridge the gulf between two principal factions within England by means of his marriage with Elizabeth of York, likewise did a monarch of the Mughal dynasty, Akbar, marry a Rājput princess to bring about rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims in India. For a king who sought to make himself absolute in every way in England, it was felt necessary that he should be supreme over Church and State, and hence Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy were passed.

Akbar aimed at the same objective, but did not seek to impose his royal will with the blood-stained hand of persecution. 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' he thought, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other. We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be *one* and *all*, with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire.'[1]

These parallels, striking as they are, may not be pressed too closely. In the first place, there was an essential difference in detail in the two peoples and countries. Secondly, the comparison or contrast is not always between two individual and exactly contemporaneous monarchs, but primarily between the general circumstances and achievements of two dynasties and countries. Yet few can read of Akbar and Elizabeth, or even of Jahāngīr and James I, without being strongly reminded of certain resemblances or dissimilarities. The death of Elizabeth (1603) in England, and of Akbar (1605) in India, placed on their respective thrones successors who had much in common in their personal composition; both James and Jahāngīr were notorious for the mixture of opposite elements in their character. The contemporary of 'the wisest fool in Christendom,' who was 'laborious over trifles and a trifler where serious labour was required,' is thus described by V. A. Smith : Jahāngīr "was a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness."[2] The generation after the death of each of these witnessed a civil war in both countries ; though in one it was merely a fratricidal struggle for the throne, and in another a war of liberation against the tyranny of the

1. Bartoli, cited by V. A. Smith in *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 211-12.

2. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 387.

crown. In both countries there was no longer benevolence left about the monarchy, but only despotism. The puritanical Aurangazīb and the puritanical Cromwell, despite essential differences, had many a stern trait in common that evoked natural revulsion and reaction in each case. The later Stuarts, like the later Mughals, were but inglorious representatives of their respective houses. Here the parallels diverge, perhaps to meet again in our present struggle for political liberation, which is but an enlarged edition of England's own example copied in India with local adaptations.

In 1688, when by her Glorious Revolution, England was on the sure road to complete political emancipation, Aurangazīb was busy digging his own grave in the Deccan ; and from the death of Aurangazīb (1707) to the extinction of his Empire was not a far cry. "As some imperial corpse," writes Lane-Poole, "preserved for ages in its dread seclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls to dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the Empire of the Mughal when the great name that guarded it was no more."[1] In 1707 also England and Scotland came close to each other, and produced two-thirds of the Union Jack (the symbol of Britain's Imperial expansion) by a combination of the white flag of St. Andrews and the red cross of St. George. But when England was thus integrating, the Mughal Empire was fast distintegrating. When in 1739 Nādir Shāh took away the Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān from Delhi, he despoiled, not merely the imperial capital of its wealth but also the imperial crown of its prestige. In 1761, after the third battle of Pānīpat, as Elphinstone observes, "The history of the Mughal Empire closes of itself : Its territory is broken into separate states ; the capital is deserted ; the claimant to the name of Emperor is an exile and a dependant ; while a new race of conquerors has already commenced its career, which may again unite the Empire under better auspices than before."[2]

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 411.
2. Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 753.

Though the Mughal Emperors continued to bear the name and wear the crown for long after their virtual extinction, their phantom figures were only the lingering shadows of a glory that was already past. A hundred years after the third battle of Pānīpat, the last of the house of Bābur and Akbar died in exile in Rangoon, in 1862, at the age of eighty-seven, having been arrested in 1857 by Lieutenant Hodson of the Intelligence Department, tried and convicted like an ordinary felon in January 1858, and sent to Calcutta and thence to Rangoon. Such was the fate of Bahādur Shāh "the *great* emperor." Only 250 years earlier, in the last year of Akbar's life, the first English ambassador, John Mildenhall, had come to the Court of the Grand Mughal as a mere suppliant with flickering hopes of success; in 1685, only eighty years after the death of Akbar, the English under direction of Sir Josiah Child, "the masterful chairman or governor of the Company, who was ambitious, (and) aimed at laying 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'......persuaded King James II to sanction the dispatch of ten or twelve ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure. Subsequently, in 1688, the English found themselves obliged to abandon Bengal altogether."[1] But time brought about a sudden transformation in the situation, the details of which need not be traced here. The year of the third battle of Pānīpat also saw the final discomfiture of the French in India, while the English had already become masters of Bengal. As Smith puts it, "The traders who fled in terror to Fulta in June 1756 were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later." He also observes, "The collapse of the Empire came with a suddenness which at first sight may seem surprising. But the student who has acquired even a moderately sound knowledge of the history

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 449.

will be surprised that the Empire lasted so long rather than because it collapsed suddenly."[1]

The causes of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire will be described and discussed in their proper place in the body of this work. Here it may be only pointed out that, since the character and strength of the whole structure depended almost entirely upon the genius of the Emperor himself, the deterioration of the Empire went hand in hand with the corruption of the Emperor's personal character and capacity. The Empire was strong and flourishing when the personality at its centre possessed strength and genius; it became weak and oppressive when that central figure itself fell a prey to all kinds of vicious influences. A character study of the Emperors themselves must therefore find an important place in the scheme of our work; their character was the epitome of the character of the Empire at every stage. But in judging them, we should never forget that they were essentially the products of their age, and as R. C. Dutt says, "We should never make the mistake of comparing the XVI and XVII centuries with the XIX and XX centuries, either in Europe or in India; and we must never forget that administration was rude and corrupt, and administrators were arbitrary and oppressive all over the world in the olden days. But making allowance for this, we may look back on Mughal rule in India with some reasons for gratification."

Nevertheless, writers are not rare who have judged even Akbar, the greatest of the Mughals, by absolute rather than contemporary standards, and tripped into making very disparaging remarks both about the subject of their criticism and the country to which he belonged. A true historical spirit ought to view things in their proper historical perspective, before judging men and nations too severely. In trying to represent the past of a country sympathetic insight into the peculiar genius and traditions of the people is an indispensable virtue,

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 449.

the lack of which often results in the distortion of the true import of facts, if not of the facts themselves. It will not do to judge the builders of the Tāj and Fathpūr-Sīkrī by modern standards and declare them hideous monuments of imperialistic and capitalistic exploitation of the masses. It will not do to denounce Akbar on the authority of either Badāūnī or the Jesuits alone, any more than it is permissible to idealise him on the sole authority of Abu-l Fazl. An impartial historian ought to weigh and consider all available sources of information, and where they seem to speak with a dubious voice, reserve judgment rather than take sides and condemn too hastily.

Looking at the Grand Mughals from such a stand-point, one can easily agree with S. M. Edwardes, and assert, "Yet they were great men, despite their failings and frailties, and when one turns from the cold catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fathpūr-Sīkrī, the supreme beauty of the Tāj Mahāl and the Motī Masjid, the magnificence of the Āgrā and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its excellence to their guidance and inspiration, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Maréchale of France concerning a peccant member of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century : 'Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality !' The fame which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."[1]

The virtues as well as the vices of the Grand Mughals in India were not a peculiar product of the tropics ; their spiritual doubles were to be found in France, Prussia, and Russia, to mention only their most outstanding contemporaries. Louis XIV lived between 1643-1715 ; Frederick William I from 1713-40 ; Frederick the Great, 1740-86 ; and Peter the Great from 1682-1725. They were all cast in the same mould, and need not

1. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 350.

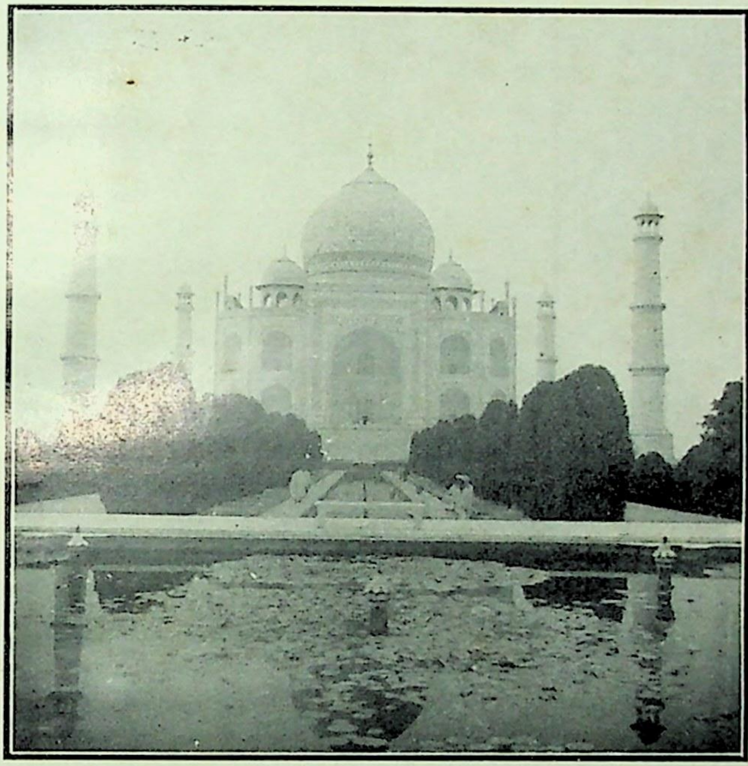


Photo by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

"THE DREAM IN MARBLE"

be individually studied. "Louis XIV," writes Mr. H. G. Wells, "set a pattern for all the kings of Europe. His prevailing occupation was splendour. His great palace at Versailles... was the envy and admiration of the world. He provoked a universal imitation. Every king and princelet in Europe was building his own Versailles as much beyond his means as his subjects and credits would permit. Everywhere the nobility rebuilt or extended their chateaux to the new pattern. A great industry of beautiful and elaborate fabrics and furnishings developed. The luxurious arts flourished everywhere; sculpture in alabaster, faience, gilt wood-work, metal work, stamped leather, much music, magnificent painting, beautiful printing and buildings, fine cookery, fine vintages.

"Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture went a strange race of 'gentlemen' in vast powdered wigs, silks and laces, poised upon high red heels, supported by amazing canes; and still more wonderful 'ladies,' under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through it all postured the great Louis, the sun of his world, unaware of the meagre and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate.

"It was a part—and an excellent part—of the pose of the Grand Monarchy to patronise literature and the sciences.... Louis XIV decorated his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientific men."

There was another side to the picture. "Great numbers of his most sober and valuable subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them.... Under his rule were carried out the 'dragonnades,' a peculiarly malignant and effectual form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their woman-kind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to rack and fire."

Such was the nature of the Grand Monarchy in the heyday of its power in France. In the period of its decline, it was not unlike the degraded specimens of the Mughals. Louis XIV died eight years after the death of Aurangzīb, and was succeeded by his grandson Louis XV, "an incompetent imitator of his predecessor's magnificence. He posed as a King, but his ruling passion was that common obsession of our kind, the pursuit of women, tempered by a superstitious fear of hell. How such women as the Duchess of Chateauraux, Madame de Pompadour, and Madame du Barry dominated the pleasures of the King, and how wars and alliances were made, provinces devastated, thousands of people killed, because of the vanities and spites of these creatures, and how all the public life of France and Europe was tainted with intrigue and prostitution and imposture because of them, the reader must learn from the memoirs of the time."[1]

Students of Mughal history would do well to con over these contemporary standards in Europe when they read of the magnificence, the autocracy, and the corruption of the Grand Monarchy in India. Then they will read 'not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider.' (Bacon).

1. H. G. Wells, *The Outline of World History*, pp. 816-21, (Cassell, Popular Ed. 1930.)

CHAPTER I

INDIA AS BĀBUR FOUND HER

'It is a remarkably fine country; it is quite a different world compared with our countries.'

So wrote Bābur in his *Tuzak* or *Wākiāt*, a work which Elphinstone characterises as "almost the only piece of real history in Asia."[1] It is the work, besides, of "a man of genius and observation, and presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror..... In Bābur the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising."[1]

Such as it is, it is strange that no historian of Mughal India has thought fit to commence his description of the country, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with the live pictures given by the founder of the dynasty in his *Memoirs*.

Natural conditions.

'Hindūstān,' writes Bābur, 'is situated in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd climates. No part of it is in the 4th. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its ani-

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 438.

mals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. You have no sooner passed the river Sindh than the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes, the manners and customs of the people are entirely those of Hindūstān.'

His first experience of this strange land, however, was not unlike that of any other stranger. He thought, 'The country and towns of Hindūstān are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look : its gardens have no walls ; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brush-wood to such a degree that the people of the *parganas*, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their in-accessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes.

'In Hindūstān, the populousness and decay, or total des-truction of villages, nay, of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population.

'The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations come pouring down all at once and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singu-larly delightful, in so much that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature.

'Its defect is that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless ; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the mois-ture. The houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built.

'There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season; but then the north wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an *āndhi.*

'It grows warm during *Taurus* and *Gemini,* but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahār. It is not above half so warm as in these places.'

Economic conditions.

Nevertheless, 'The chief excellence of Hindūstān is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver.....Another convenience of Hindūstān is that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable, and without end. For any work of any employment, there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages.'[1]

The economic condition was certainly such as to tempt an adventurer like Bābur. The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī,* a work of the reign of Jahāngīr, contains a description of the prosperity of India at the time of Bābur's invasion. 'One of the most extraordinary phenomena of Sultān Ibrhāhīm's time,' it says, 'was that corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultān Alāu-d dīn Khiljī ; but even that is doubtful.......Ten *maṇs* of corn could be purchased for one *bahloli ;* five *sīrs* clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. Everything else was in the same exuberance ; the reason of all which was that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently luxuriant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion......A respectable man with a family de-

1. E. & D., *The History of India as told by Its own Historians,* IV ; pp. 221-23.

pendent on him might obtain wages at the rate of five *tankas* a month. A horseman received from twenty to thirty (*tankas*) as his monthly pay. If a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Āgrā, one *bahloli* would, with the greatest ease, suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and escort.'[1]

Allowance being made for overstatement, this should enable us to visualise the comparative affluence of the period. An account of the political condition of the country will complete the description of India as Bābur found her in 1526 A.D.

Political condition.

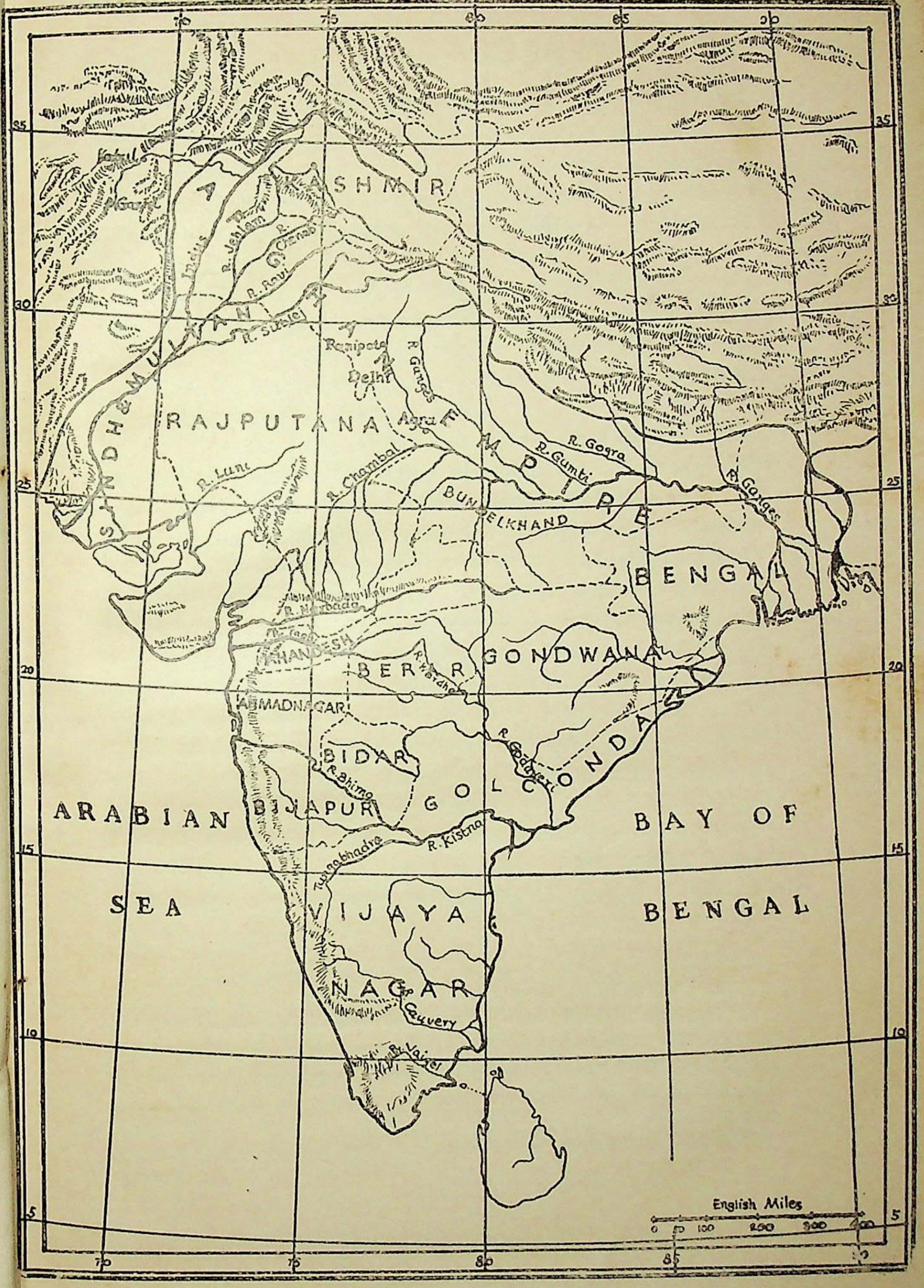
'The capital of Hindūstān,' writes Bābur, 'is Delhi. From the time of Sultān Shihabu-d dīn Ghorī to the end of Sultān Fīroz Shāh's time, the greater part of Hindūstān was in the possession of the Emperor of Delhi. At the period when I conquered that country five Musalman kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Rāis* and *Rājās* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance.'[2]

A.—MUSALMAN KINGS

1. *Delhi.*—'One of these powers was the Afghāns, whose government included the capital, and extended from Bahrāh to Bihār....Sultān Bahlol Lodī Afghān, and his son Sultān Sikandar,....seized the throne of Delhi, as well as that of Jaunpūr, and reduced both kingdoms under one government.'

2. *Gujarāt.*—'The second prince was Sultān Muhammad Muzaffar, in Gujarāt. He had departed this life a few days before Sultān Ibrāhīm's defeat (at Pānīpat, 1526). He was a prince well-skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadis* (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the Kurān. They call this race Tang. Their ancestors were cup-bearers to the Sultān Fīroz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Fīroz they took possession of the throne of Gujarāt.'

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 47-65.
2. Ibid., p. 259.



Sketch by Mr. V. N Ambdekar

INDIA AS BABUR FOUND HER [1526 A. D.]

3. *Bahmanīs.*—'The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanīs in the Dekhin, but at the present time the Sultāns of the Dekhin have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amīrs.*'

4. *Mālwā.*—'The fourth king was Sultān Mahmūd, who reigned in the country of Mālwā, which they likewise call Māndū. This dynasty was the Khiljī. Rāṇā Sankā, a Pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak.'

5. *Bengal.*—'The fifth prince was Nusrat Shāh, in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a *saiyid* of the name of Sultān Alāu-d dīn. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal (however) that *there is a little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty....whoever kills the king and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king;*.....the people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne: whoever fills the throne we are obedient and true to it." As for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shāh's father, an Abyssinian (Muzaffar Shāh Habshī), having killed the reigning king, mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time (three years). Sultān Alāu-d dīn killed the Abyssinian, ascended the throne, and was acknowledged as king. After Sultān Alāu-d dīn's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned.[1]

1. Nasiru-d dīn Nusrat Shāh was 'a prince of gentle disposition and strong natural affections, for he not only refrained from slaying, mutilating, or imprisoning his brother, but doubled the provision which his father had made for them.' He married a daughter of Ibrāhīm Lodī, and sheltered many an Afghān chief who fled from Delhi, after the battle of Pānīpat, and bestowed fiefs upon them. He sent Qutb Shāh one of his nobles, in 1529, to make a demonstration against Bābur, further details of which will be found in Ch. II, below—p. 50.

'The five kings who have been mentioned,' says Bābur, 'are great princes, and are all Musalmans, and possessed of formidable armies.'

B.—HINDU KINGS

1. *Vijayanagar.*—'The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Rājā of Bijanagar.'

2. *Mewār.*—'Another is Rāṇā Sanka, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitor. During the confusion that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Māndū, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Māndū, such as Rantpūr (Rantambhor), Sārangpūr, Bhīlsān, and Chānderī.

'There were a number of other *Rāis* and *Rājās* on the borders and within the territory of Hindūstān ; many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country have never submitted to the Musalman Kings.'[1]

Bābur's omissions.

Such, in brief, is the description of India that we are able to gather from the writings of Bābur himself. Very little is necessary to be added to make the situation, at the time of his invasion, more clear.

First may be pointed out the omission by Bābur of the kingdoms of Khāndesh, Orissa, Sindh, and Kāshmīr. With the former two Bābur had nothing to do : Khāndesh enjoyed a quiet prosperity under its Fārūkhī (Musalman) ruler ; and Orissa (Hindu) was engaged in constant warfare with Bengal in the north and Vijayanagar in the south. Sindh was ruled by the Sumana Jāms until 1520. Then Shāh Bég Arghūn, being driven away by Bābur from Kandahār, took possession of it. His son Shāh Hussein was defeated by Bābur in 1527. Kāshmīr was a prey to internal factions ; its nobles set up and pulled down puppet princes as it suited their interests. Muhammad

1. E. & D. op. cit., pp. 259-62.

Shāh ruled Kāshmīr, from 1499 to 1526, with the help of his minister Malik Kāji Chakk. In the latter year the minister overthrew master, to be himself overthrown in turn, within the nine months, by rivals who obtained help from Bābur's officers. Later, however, the factious nobles made common cause against their enemy and forced the Mughals to retire into the Punjab.

Secondly, even of the rulers and kingdoms mentioned by Bābur it is worth while to add a little more information. Among the comtemporary rulers of India Bābur has chosen to make special mention of the Rājā of 'Bijanagar' and 'Rāṇā Sanka.' He characterises the former as 'the most powerful of the Pagan princes in point of territory and army'[1] but nevertheless, he was too distant from Bābur for further notice. The latter had 'attained his present high eminence,.......by his own valour and his sword.' This valour and sword, however, were soon tried against Bābur himself and found wanting. Besides defeating the Rāṇā at Khānua (March, 1527), 'In the year 934 (A.H.), by the divine favour in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Chānderī, which was commanded by Maidāni Rāo (Medini Rāi), one of the highest and most distinguished of Rāṇā Sanka's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility which it had long

1. The Empire of Vijayanagar comprised practically the whole of the present Madras Presidency with Mysore and all other States in the peninsula. When Krishna Deva Rāya fought against Ismāil Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, for the possession of the Rāichūr Doāb, on 19th May 1520, his army consisted of 703,000 infantry, 32,600 cavalry, and 551 war-elephants, besides an uncounted host of camp-followers, etc. Domingo Pæs, the Portuguese visitor to Krishna Rāya's capital, considered Vijayanagar 'the best provided city in the world; and the King himself 'by rank a greater Lord than any by reason of what he possesses in armies, and territories: He is the most feared and perfect King, that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs, whatever their condition may be. He is a greater ruler and a man of much justice; gallant and perfect in all things, but subject to sudden fits of rage.' (Smith, op. cit., pp. 304-11.)

been, converted it into the mansion of the Faith, as will be hereafter more fully detailed.'[1]

Condition of South India.

Bābur's unconscious tribute to Krishna Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar (1509-29) was well deserved. Though this great prince of South India did not come into direct contact with the Mughal invader, he is worthy of remembrance because of his relation with the Bahmanīs who are mentioned by Bābur.

'But at the present time the Sultāns of the Dekhin,' he truly observed, 'have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amīrs*.' The disruption of the Bahmanīs was among other reasons, due to the pressure of Vijayanagar, which, in its turn, was to fall a prey to Musalman hostility within half a century (1565) of the extinction of Bahmanī as a single independent kingdom.

The last of the independent Bahmanīs was Mahmūd Shāh (1482-1518), under whom the kingdom split up: Bijāpūr was the first to set up the Ādil Shāhī (1489); next came the Imād Shāhī of Berār (1490). After the death of Mahmūd Shāh (1518), four puppet princes were set up successively at Kulburga, the Bahmanī capital, by Amīr Barīd the minister. Not content with this, Barīd finally established the independent Barīd Shāhī of Bīdar in 1526, the year of Bābur's victory over Ibrāhīm Lodī.

Ferishta describes the situation well: 'In the year 933 H. (1526 A.D.) the Emperor Bābur conquered Delhi, upon which Ismāil Ādil Shāh, Burhān Nizām Shāh, and Kutb Shāh (who was to found the Kutb Shāhī of Golkonda in 1528) sent ambassadors to his court. Kaleem-ullah (last of the Bahmanīs) also sent one of his companions, in disguise, with a petition to the

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 261.

Emperor ; setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious servants ; offering, if the Emperor of Delhi would relieve him from his distressed situation, to cede to him, Daulatābād and the province of Berār. Bābur, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the kings of Mālwa and Gujarāt being still unsubdued, paid no attention to this request ; but the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Amīr Barīd, he treated the king with greater rigour, who, making his escape to his uncle Ismāil Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, was received by him honourably in hopes of using his name to his own advantage, but the King, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. Kaleemullah resided at Ahmadnagar till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmanī.'[1]

The Deccan was thus pre-occupied at the time of Bābur's invasion ; being distracted and divided on the one hand by the protracted duel between Vijayanagar and Bahmanī, and on the other by the internecine struggles between the various Musalman princes and factions (Sunnī vs. Shia ; Deccanī vs. Foreigners—Arab, Turk, Persian, Mughal, and Abyssinian),—all contributing their share to weaken and paralyse the country by intrigue, fight, and assassination.[2]

The Portuguese were a new element in South Indian politics. Vasco de Gama opened a new era, as well as a new problem, for India, by reaching Calicut in 1497. His countrymen soon became a nuisance to the Muslim pilgrims bound for Jedda ; they also became a menace to the Musalman kingdoms bordering on the Arabian Sea. In 1510, Albuquerque, their intrepid Governor, conquered Goa, then the principal port in the Bijāpūr territory. In 1530, the year in which Bābur died, they assembled a large fleet at Bombay, proceeded to Damān and captured it. "The entry of this European nautical

1. Briggs, II, pp. 558-9.
2. Bijāpūr alone lost 16,000 killed in the battle of Rāichūr, 19th May, 1520.

M. 2

power," indeed, "created an unsettling factor" both in the commercial and political life of India.[1]

Condition of North India.

North India was in no better position to offer effective resistance to the invader. Both Mālwā and Gujarāt were constantly at war with the Rājputs under Rāṇā Sangā and Medini Rāi. In northern Mālwā, particularly, the Rājputs had gained considerable ascendancy. Mahmūd II, the reigning prince at the time of Bābur's invasion, had secured the throne against his rivals, with the help of Medini Rāi. Subsequently, jealous of the Rājputs, he tried to get rid of them with the assistance of Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt. Medini Rāi secured the aid of Rāṇā Sanga and inflicted a defeat upon the Musalmans. Mahmūd was wounded and captured, but chivalrously restored to his throne. Yet, when Muzaffar of Gujarāt died, in 1526, Mahmūd unwisely supported Chānd Khān (younger son of Muzaffar) against his abler elder brother Bahādur Shāh. As a penalty for his backing the wrong horse, Bahādur Shāh annexed Mālwā to his own kingdom in 1531.

Bahādur Shāh, who was to try conclusions with Bābur's son, was growing formidable, unnoticed by the Mughal invader. In 1524, his father Muzaffar Shāh had supplied Ālam Khān, an uncle of Ibrāhīm Lodī, with a small force and a sum of money to contend for the throne of Delhi. But Bahādur Shāh himself, being dissatisfied with his father, sought his fortune under Ibrāhīm Lodī, in 1526, when the latter was preparing for his fatal struggle. While the Gujarātī adventurer distinguished himself in the preliminary skirmishing against the Mughals, he did not persist for long ; evidently he was scared away by his patron's jealousy. Then he retreated to Jaunpūr, where he heard of his father's death, and hastened home. There he busied himself with securing his father's throne and extending his influence in the south by dynastic marriages and political alliances with rival princes

1. *Cambridge History of India,* III, p. 495. For details of Portuguese policy in India, see Smith, op. cit., pp. 332-4.

of Berār and Khāndesh against Bīdar and Ahmadnagar. In 1529, he also sheltered Jām Fīrūz of Sindh who had been driven away by Shāh Beg Arghūn, the fugitive from Bābur already mentioned (p. 14 above). In 1530, he received under his protection Afghān refugees from Delhi ; and fortified Diu against the Portuguese who had just taken Damān.

In Rājputāna, Rāṇā Sanga (or Sangrāma Singh), who ascended the throne of Mewār (Chitor) in 1509, controlled directly or indirectly the entire resources of Rājasthān. 'Eighty thousand horse, seven *Rājās* of the highest rank, 104 chieftains with 500 war-elephants, followed him into the field.' In his reign Mewār reached the zenith of her glory. Eighteen pitched battles he fought against the kings of Delhi and Mālwā ; no force could face him in Hindūstān. According to Sheikh Zain, 'There was not a single ruler of the first rank in all these great countries like Delhi, Gujarāt, and Māndū, who was able to make head against him. The banners of the infidel flaunted over two hundred cities inhabited by people of the Faith.'[1]

Finally, we came to the kingdom of Delhi, India's political centre of gravity. When Ibrāhīm Lodī succeeded to his father's throne, Ahmad Yādgār says, 'Many nobles became aware of the king's fickle disposition and raised the standard of opposition.'[2] He disgusted his tribe by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it (1517) one of his brothers was proclaimed king at *Jaunpūr*, was subdued in the course of a twelve month, and was privately executed by Ibrāhīm, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Islām Khān next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion ; some were secretly made

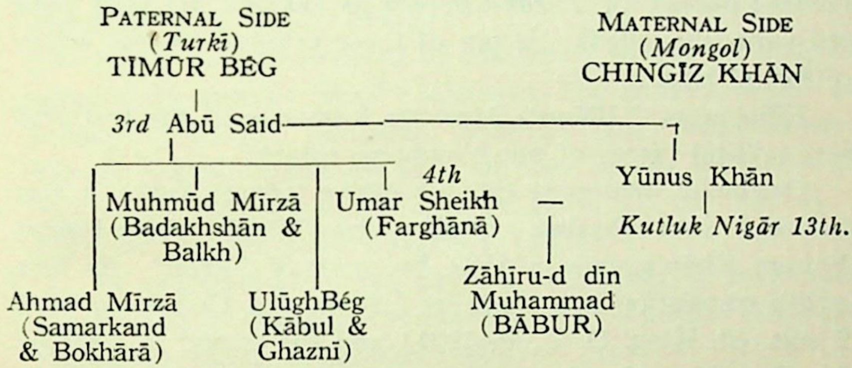
1. Cited by Rushbrooke Williams, *An Empire Builder*, pp. 12-13.
2. E. D., op. cit., V, p. 14.

away with after being imprisoned ; and one was assassinated at the seat of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and disaffection ; various chiefs revolted, and the whole of the eastern part of Ibrāhīm's dominion threw off its obedience, and formed a separate state under Daryā Khān Lohāni, whose son afterwards took the title of King. Daulat Khān Lodī, Governor of the Punjāb, dreading the fate of so many other chiefs, revolted and called in the aid of Bābur.[1] So also did Rāṇā Sanga : "The Empire of Delhi was in confusion ; it had become the prey of the strongest ; and the former successes and mighty power of the Rāṇā might secure to justify at once his hopes of seating himself on the vacant throne of the Lodīs, and his more reasonable and glorious ambition of expelling both the Afghāns and Turkī invaders from India, and restoring her own Hindu race of kings, and her native institutions."[2]

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 420.
2. Erskine, *Bābur and Humāyūn*, I, p. 462.

BĀBUR'S PEDIGREE

GENEALOGY



Note :—It will be seen from the above that Bābur was *fifth* in descent from Tīmūr and fourteenth from Chingīz Khān, both of them great conquerors and scourges of Asia.

2. It is also to be noted that Bābur was a *Turk* from his father's side, and a *Mongol* from his mother's side. *Turkī* is therefore a more accurate term for Bābur's dynasty, than *Mughal.* Mughal or Mogul is the Persian and Indian form of Mongol.

3. Bābur was the cognomen given to his grandson by Yūnus Khān. In Turkī it means 'tiger.'

(For a history of Tīmūr and Chingīz Khān and their descendants prior to Bābur, see Erskine, *A History of India under the First Two Sovereigns of the House of Taimūr*, vol. I, pp. 8-76).

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY : (i) Bābur's own *Memoirs* are the principal source of information about his life and career.

"If ever there were a case," writes Lane-Poole, "when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Bābur's *Memoirs*..... No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler."

According to Beveridge, the *Bābur-Nāmā*, (*Wakai* or *Wākiāt-i-Bāburī*, or *Tuzak-i-Bāburī* as Bābur's *Memoirs* have been variously called) "is one of those priceless records which are for all time."

Elliot says, "Bābur's *Memoirs* form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant."

Originally written in Bābur's native tongue, Turkī, it was translated into Persian, notably, by Mīrzā Abdur-Rahīm (Bairam Khān's son) in 1589, by order of Akbar.[1] Its first English translation was made by Leyden and Erskine in 1826 (2 vols. ed. King, O. U. P. 1921) and the second in 1905 by Mrs. Beveridge (2 vols. Luzac, 1921.) There is also a French translation by Pavet de Courteille (1871).

The first part of the *Memoirs* being revised and enlarged by Bābur himself, after his invasion of India, is better than the second part which has remained an unrevised and rough diary. There are three important gaps in the *Memoirs* : the first covering the period 1503-1504 ; the second 1508-19 ; and the third 1520-25.

They are therefore to be supplemented by—

(ii) *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Haidar (a cousin of Bābur) who completed his chronicle within seventeen years of Bābur's death. According to Erskine, "It is the production of a learned and accomplished man ; and, in the latter parts, of

1. A beautiful MS copy of this, with Shāh Jahān's autograph on the fly-leaf and many coloured pictures, is said to be in the Āgrā College Library.

a contemporary, intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the Commentaries of Bābur, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal cousins are worthy of each other, and do honour to their age."

It has been rendered into English by Elias and Denison Ross (1895).

(iii) *Humāyūn-Nāmā* of Bābur's daughter, Gulbadan Begam, is, in the estimation of Rushbrooke Williams, "exceedingly partial". Nevertheless, it contains some personal recollections of its author's father. It has been edited by Mrs. Beveridge" (R. A. S., 1902).

(iv) *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā* of Mahomed Kāsim Ferishtā also supplies the gaps in Bābur's *Memoirs*. The account, says Rushbrooke Williams, "is sane, accurate, and well-balanced". For an English translation of it see Col. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year A. D. 1612*, vol. II, pp. 1-69. Longmans (1829).

B. SECONDARY : (i) Erskine, *A History of India under the First two Sovereigns of the House of Taimūr, Bābur and Humāyūn*, vol. I, Longmans (1854).

(ii) Lane-Poole, *Bābur*, Rulers of India Series, O. U. P. (1899).

(iii) Rushbrooke Williams, '*An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*,' Longmans (1918).

(iv) Edwardes, S.M., *Bābur : Diarist and Despot*, Philpot, (London).

Note :—The bibliographies given in this book are not exhaustive. Only such works as are considered most essential have been included. Fuller guidance is to be had in the works herein cited.

Elliot and Dowson's *The History of India as told by Its own Historians*, contains valuable extracts from various original sources in translation. (8 vols. Trübner, 1877).

CHAPTER II

HOW THE EMPIRE WAS FOUNDED

'Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway, one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

BĀBUR.

The Mughal Empire in India was founded in 1526, by Bābur, who, according to all estimates, is one of the most fascinating personalities in all history. He spent the greater part of his life outside India ; but though, as Lane-Poole says, his permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, his earlier life (of which he has left an imperishable record in his *Memoirs*) constitutes an interest by itself not less valuable. "Given such a man," writes Flora A. Steele, "it would be sheer perversity to treat him solely in reference to the part he played in India, as this would be to deprive ourselves of no less than thirty-six years of the very best of company."

Bābur's life falls into three definite periods : 1. Early adventures up to his conquest of Kābul (1494-1504) ; 2. Bābur as King of Kābul (1504-25) ; and 3. Bābur in India (1525-30).

I. EARLY ADVENTURES

Bābur was born on Friday, February 14, 1483 (*Muharram* 6, 888 *Hijra*).

A.—Birth and Accession.

Bābur's father Umar Sheikh, died on Monday, June 8, 1494 (*Ramzān* 4, 899 *Hijra*).

Bābur's *Memoirs* begin with the sentence—'In the month of *Ramzān* of the year 899 (*Hijra*), in the twelfth year of my age, I became ruler in the country of Farghāna.'

B.—Political Heritage.

Tīmūr's empire had been divided among his own descendants, as well as those of Chingīz Khān. Its principal kingdoms and rulers were all interrelated as follows* :—

1. Tāshkent, Sairam, Shāhrukhia were under Bābur's elder maternal uncle, Mahmūd Khān.

2. The region between Tāshkent and Yalduz was under Bābur's younger maternal uncle, Ahmad Khān.

3. Samarkand and Bokhāra were ruled by Bābur's eldest paternal uncle, Ahmad Mīrzā.

4. Badakhshān, Hisār and Kunduz were ruled by Bābur's elder paternal uncle, Mahmūd Mīrzā.

5. Kābul and Ghaznī were ruled by Bābur's youngest paternal uncle, Ulugh Bég.

6. Khorāsān and Herāt were under Husain Mīrzā, the head of the House of Tīmūr.

7. Farghāna was the kingdom of which Bābur's father, Umar Sheikh, was the ruler.

Yūnus Khān, twelfth in descent from Chingīz Khān, had three daughters by his first wife. They were married respectively to Bābur's two paternal uncles, Ahmad Mīrzā and Mahmūd Mīrzā, and Bābur's father Umar Sheikh. Kutluk Nigār was Bābur's mother.

Both Yūnus Khān and his wife, Ais-Daulat Begum, exercised considerable influence over Bābur. About the former, Bābur writes in his *Memoirs* : 'He had the most agreeable and refined manners and conversation such as are very seldom to be met with in the most polished society'; and about the latter, 'Few amongst women will have been my grandmother's equals for judgment and culture ; she was very wise and far-seeing, and most affairs of mine were carried through by her advice.'

Bābur combined in himself the ferocity of the Mongol, 'the courage and capacity of the Turk', and the polished urbanity of the Persians—which were all inherited traits.

*See also C. H. I., IV, p. 3.

Farghāna, with Andijān as its capital, was, as above noticed, Umar Sheikh's kingdom. It was a fertile tract of country on the Jagzrates, 50,000 sq. miles in extent (now Khokand in Russian Turkistān). But Bābur's father was not satisfied with this. So he quarrelled with his eldest brother, Ahmad Mīrzā who had received the largest share of the paternal dominions, viz., Samarkand and Bokhāra.

In the midst of these quarrels, however, Umar Sheikh died of an accidental fall, while feeding his pigeons (Monday 8th June, 1494). This fatal event synchronised with the invasion of Farghāna by Bābur's paternal and maternal uncles, Ahmad and Mahmūd Mīrzā, respectively.

Though Bābur was hardly twelve years of age at this time, he was saved from the critical situation by the loyalty of his subjects. He gratefully records: 'They (i.e., his enemies) found in our soldiers and peasantry a resolution and single-mindedness such as would not let them flinch from making offering of their lives so long as there was breath and power in their bodies'.

C.—Samarkand.

Samarkand, the city of Tīmūr, (then ruled by his uncle Ahmad Mīrzā) exercised the greatest fascination over the ambitious son of Umar Sheikh. It was to the west of Farghāna, a city five miles in circuit, noted for its learning, and possessed of a great astronomical observatory (built by Ulugh Bég), and had celebrated colleges, baths and mosques. According to Bābur 'even the baker's shops (of Samarkand) are excellent and the cooks are skilful'.

In July 1494, when Ahmad Mīrzā died, Bābur set his heart upon the conquest of Samarkand. However, not until two years later could he make his first effort (July, 1496), and even then not successfully. But this attempt marked an important stage in Bābur's life.

Next year (1497), though only for a while, Bābur succeeded in his ambition. He captured Samarkand and kept it for a hundred days. Then there was rebellion in Farghāna, which

cost him both the kingdoms: 'Thus for the sake of Farghāna I had given up Samarkand, and now found I had lost the one without securing the other'.

D.—Wanderings.

After this, Bābur became a wanderer for two years. As he himself writes, ever since he was eleven years of age, he never spent two festivals of the *Ramzān*, in the same place'; or in the words of Ferishta, 'the football of fortune, like a king on a chess-board, he moved about from place to place, buffeted about like a pebble on the sea-shore.'[1] But wherever he went, Bābur was always cheerful, always kindly, always ready to enjoy the beauties of nature,—especially 'a wonderful, delicate, and toothsome melon with a mottled skin like shagreen'.

In 1498, he won Farghāna back, though he had to lose it again in 1500, because of an attempt to restrain his greedy 'Mughal rascals' from plundering. 'It was a senseless thing,' he writes, 'to exasperate so many men with arms in their hands. *In war and in state-craft a thing may seem reasonable at first sight, but it needs to be weighed and considered in a hundred lights before it is finally decided upon.* This ill-judged order of mine was, in fact, the ultimate cause of my second expulsion'.

Once more, therefore, he had to seek refuge 'by dangerous tracks among rocks. In the steep and narrow ways and gorges which we had to climb, many a horse and camel dropped and fell out.... We passed on, nevertheless, with incredible labour, through fearful gorges and tremendous precipices, until after a hundred agonies and losses, at last we topped those murderous steep defiles and came down on the borders of Kān, with its lovely expanse of lake'.

During 1500-1 he captured Samarkand for a second time, married his cousin Ayesha, had by her a daughter, 'who in a month or forty days went to partake of the mercy of God.' After this they parted: for, 'as my affections decreased, my shyness increased.'

1. Briggs, II, p. 23.

Soon, Bābur was defeated by Shaibānī, the Uzbeg leader[1] at Sar-i-pul (Bridge Head), and again driven out of Samarkand within eight months. From 1502-4 he was once again a fugitive, with a following of only 'more than 200 and less than 300 men with clubs in their hands and tattered clothes in their backs.' In a garden he was once awaiting death; 'but soon found life and fortune.' The kingly blood in him carved out a kingdom in Kābul, in 1504.

II. KING OF KĀBUL (1504-1525)

'It was in the last ten days of the second *Rabi* (Oct. 1504) that without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kābul and Ghaznī and their dependent districts.'

'During my residence at Kābul', he writes with great self-complacency, 'I passed my days in such entire absence of care, as I never did at any other time or do now.' So he assumed, in 1507, the title of Pādshāh or Emperor, which had never been borne by any Tīmūrid before him: 'Up to that date people had styled Tīmūr Beg's descendants *Mīrzā* even when they were ruling; now I ordered that people should style me *Pādshāh*'.

'The adoption of this new title marked an important change in his political ideas.'[2]

The same year (1507), Bābur conquered Kandahār and bestowed it upon his younger brother Nāsir, who, however, soon lost it within a week. It was not reconquered finally until fifteen years later.

1. 'Shaibānī or Shāhi Bég was a princely adventurer who first become Governor of Turkistān, and from that time forward, came into prominence as the great enemy of the Tīmūrids in general, and of Bābur in particular. His power, his cunning, his cruelty, made him a most formidable opponent; and until the hand of death finally removed him, he was to constitute an insupportable barrier to the career of the young prince of Farghāna.' (Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 44.)

2. Ishwari Prasad, *A short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 295.

Bābur still yearned for Samarkand. This year (1507) also he paid a visit to his cousins in Herāt which was 'the home of culture and ease.'[1] 'In the whole habitable world,' says Bābur, 'there is not such another city'. But his object in going there was to see if he could secure their help in making yet another effort against Shaibānī. He, however, soon realised that 'the brave barbarian from the north' was not to be vanquished by men like these. The Mīrzās, although accomplished and having a charming talent for conversation and society, 'possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a campaign or of warlike operations, and were perfect strangers to the preparations for a battle, and the dangers and spirit of a soldier's life.'

On his way back, Bābur met with 'such suffering and hardship as I had scarcely endured at any other time of my life.' Nevertheless, in 1511-12, he had the satisfaction of winning Samarkand, Bokhāra, and Khorāsān, for the last time, with the help of Shāh Ismael Safavi of Persia.

In *Rajab*, 917 *Hijra* (Oct. 1511) Bābur re-entered Samarkand, 'in the midst of such pomp and splendour as no one has ever seen or heard of before or ever since.'[2] Bābur's dominions now reached their widest extent : from Tāshkent and Sairam on the borders of the deserts of Tartary, to Kābul and Ghaznī near the Indian frontier, including Samarkand, Bokhāra, Hisār, Kunduz and Farghāna.

But this glory was as shortlived as it was great. After flying from one part of his dominions to another, losing everywhere, he returned to Kābul in 1513-14.

The Shāh had exacted from him a very heavy price : Bābur was to hold those kingdoms under the Shāh ; he was

1. 'Heiāt,' says Khwāndamīr, 'is the eye—the lamp that illumines all other cites ; Herāt is the soul to the World's body ; and if Khorāsān be the bosom of the earth, Herāt is confessedly its heart.'

2. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 246; cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 131,

also to become a convert to the Shia faith and adopt all its symbols, as well as enforce the Shia creed on the orthodox Sunnī subjects of the conquered kingdoms. Though Bābur refused to prosecute anybody for his religious faith, his own conversion led to his fall.

With this last discomfiture in the north and west, the second period of Bābur's life comes to a close; after this he definitely turned to the south and east, viz., India.

Although he continued to sit on the throne of Kābul for another twelve years, the history of the period 1514-25 is of little interest to the student of Indian History, except in its bearing on Bābur's Indian expeditions, to which we must now turn our attention.

'Kābul', writes Bābur, 'is the intermediate point between Hindūstān and Khorāsān'. "Bābur", according to Lane-Poole, "is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tarmerlane and Akbar."[1]

III. BĀBUR IN INDIA (1525-1530)

Towards Hindūstān.

'The great advantage of Hindūstān,' Bābur was aware, 'besides its vast extent of territory, is the amount of gold, coined and uncoined, which may be found there'. To Hindūstān, therefore, he turned his wistful attention when, after the conquest of Kābul, he felt the need for supplies :

(1) In 1504, he marched along the Peshāwar-Attok road, went through the Khyber, and then instead of crossing the river Indus, marched on Kohāt. Here he found much booty which he seized.

(2) In September 1507, he resolved, after some discussion, to march in the direction of Hindūstān. So, placing a cousin in charge of Kābul, he came as far as Ādīnāpūr (now Jalālābād), fighting his way among the Afghāns and vainly

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 9.

attempting to subdue those 'robbers and plunderers even in time of peace'. The retreat of Shaibānī emboldened Bābur to return to his capital ; and once more the advance into India was postponed.

(3) Sometime between 1514 and 1519, Bābur profited by the example of Shāh Ismāil, determined to possess an effective artillery ; and secured the services of an Ottoman Turk, named Ustād Āli, who became his Master of Ordnance.

Between 1520 and 1525, likewise, he secured another Turkish expert named Mustafā, for the same purpose.

These were clear indications of Bābur's effective preparations for the intended conquest of India. "If there was one single material factor, which more than any other, conduced to his ultimate triumph in Hindūstān," observes Rushbrooke Williams, "it was his powerful artillery."[1]

(4) Bābur again, in 1518, attempted reduction of the tribes and fortresses on the north-east of Kābul, as a preliminary to the conquest of Hindūstān.

Five Expeditions.

The urge for definite conquest, however, came to him from one of his nobles, who said, 'Go on then and possess yourself of the noblest country in the universe. Establish beyond the river Indus the Empire which your fathers have marked out for you. Go and fix your Court in the centre of Hindūstān and prefer the delights of the Indies to the hoar and snow of Tartary. Everything seems to invite you to the south ; Providence has conducted you to Kābul and put you on the road to Hindūstān ; God and Muhammad engaged you to extinguish the idolatry of the Indians.'

The effect of this on Bābur is best summed up in what he himself wrote after the battle of Pānīpat :—

'From the year 910 *Hijra,* when I obtained the principality of Kābul, up to the date of the events I now record, I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindūstān. But I

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 111.

had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it, hindered as I was, sometimes by the apprehensions of my *Bégs*, sometimes by disagreements between my brothers and myself. Finally, all these obstacles were happily removed. Great and small, *Bégs* and captains, no one dared say a word against the project.

'So, in 925 *Hijra* (1519) I left at the head of an army, and made a start by taking Bājaur......*From this time to* 932 *Hijra* (*1526*) *I was always actively concerned in the affairs of Hindūstān.* I went there in person, at the head of an army, five times in the course of seven or eight years. The fifth time by the munificence and liberality of God, there fell beneath my blows an enemy as formidable as Sultān Ibrāhīm, and I gained the vast Empire of Hind'.[1]

The five expeditions referred to above were—

First Expedition: In 1519 he stormed Bājaur which fell after a spirited struggle, in which Bābur's new artillery played a decisive part. 'By the favour and pleasure of the High God, this strong and mighty fort was taken in 2 or 3 hours; matching the fort were the utter struggle and effort of our braves; distinguish themselves they did, and won the name and fame of heroes'.

Bābur looked upon this as the first step on the road to Hindūstān. If here he indulged in wholesale massacre, it was to make an example. When he proceeded further to Bhirā, on the Jhelum, he acted with great restraint: '*As it was always in my heart to possess Hindūstān,* and as these several countries had once been held by the Turks,[2] I pictured them as my own, and was resolved to get them into my own hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat the hillmen well, this order was given: *Do no hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton ends and broken needles.*'

1. Cf. Ibid, p. 113, n. 2. cf. C. H. I., IV, p. 10.
2. Tīmūr had overrun the Punjāb in 1398-9.

He despatched Mullā Murshid to Sultān Ibrāhīm 'giving him the name and style of ambassador, to demand that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Turks should be given up to me.' The Mullā was also given letters for Daulat Khān, Governor of the Punjāb. 'But the people of Hindūstān, and particularly the Afghāns,' writes Bābur, 'are a strangely foolish and senseless race. This person, sent by me, Daulat Khān detained sometime in Lāhore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultān Ibrāhīm ; so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kābul without having received any answer.'

Bābur quitted India, leaving Bhirā in the charge of Hindū Bég ; but the latter was soon (1519) expelled by the natives.

Second Expedition : The same year, in September, Bābur again marched through the Khyber, in order to subdue the Yusufzāi and provision Peshāwar fort as a base for future operations in Hindūstān. But he was recalled by disturbing news from Badakhshān, which came into Bābur's possession in 1520.

Third Expedition : For the third time Bābur marched, in 1520, through Bājaur towards Bhirā. Subduing the recalcitrant Afghān tribes on the way, he proceeded to Siālkot, which submitted without striking a blow. The people of Saiyidpūr defied Bābur, but were easily subdued. However, Bābur had to hastily retrace his steps again to fight Shāh Bég Arghūn, ruler of Kandahār.

After two unsuccessful efforts, Bābur finally acquired Kandahār, in 1522, through the treachery of its Governor, Maulānā, Abdul Bagi. Shāh Beg established himself in Sindh, and Kāmrān (Bābur's second son) was put in charge of Kandahār.

Fourth Expedition : Thus, thoroughly secure at home, Bābur for the fourth time invaded India, in 1524. Daulat Khān, Governor of the Punjāb, was growing very powerful. Sultān Ibrāhīm had summoned him to Delhi. But Daulat Khān offended him by not appearing in person. To protect himself from the Sultān's wrath, Daulat Khān sent his son Dilāwar

M. 3

Khān, to invite Bābur to dethrone Ibrāhīm Lodī in favour of his uncle Ālam Khān (or Alāu-d dīn).

Bābur readily fell in with this invitation, and marched once more into the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenab. Lāhore and Dīpālpūr soon fell into his hands. Daulat Khān was defeated by the Delhi forces and driven into exile. But he came back and sought reinstatement at the hands of the invader. Bābur, however, offered him only Jalandhar and Sultānpūr instead. Daulat Khān felt disappointed, and the fiefs were bestowed upon his more reliable son Dilāwar Khān. Dīpālpūr was given to Ālam Khān.

Daulat Khān and his second son Ghāzī Khān fled to the hills, only to return in the wake of Bābur's withdrawal. They recaptured Sultānpūr from Dilāwar, and Dipālpūr from Ālam Khān. Ibrāhīm's attempt to subdue Daulat Khān proved unsuccessful. But Bābur's Lāhore detachment inflicted a defeat upon him.

On account of this unsettled state, Ālam Khān fled to Kābul and once again sought Bābur's aid to seat himself on the throne of Delhi. In return Bābur was promised sovereignty over Lāhore and the west Punjāb.

Ālam Khān returned to India with this understanding. But the wily Daulat won him over. The two Khāns accordingly marched on Delhi, only to be disgracefully routed by the Sultān.

Fifth Expedition: Bābur now crossed the frontier for the last time (Nov. 1525), with the largest army he had ever led into Hindūstān. Humāyūn was with him, with a contingent from Badakhshān. Crossing the Jhelum, the Lāhore army also joined him. All told, his followers numbered not more than 12,000 of whom perhaps only 8,000 were effectives.

Siālkot had been lost. His generals in India had gathered together at Lāhore. But Daulat Khān alone had taken the field with not less than 40,000 men. Ibrāhīm Lodī was soon to confront him with 1,00,000 men and a large number of war-elephants.

However, Daulat Khān's forces melted away at Bābur's mere approach. Bābur had nothing more to do with him than to upbraid him for his treacherous conduct. Death soon snatched away Daulat Khān altogether from the field.

On February 26, 1526, Humāyūn won his spurs for the first time, against an advance division of the Imperial forces. Ibrāhīm was coming from Delhi, and Bābur from Sirhind and Ambālā. On April 1, again Bābur's men encountered a cavalry division of the Sultān and crushed it. From April 12 to 19, one whole week, the two armies faced each other, with little action, near Pānīpat—'the plain intended by Nature to be the battlefield of nations.'

FIRST BATTLE OF PĀNĪPAT

The battle was fought on April 21, 1526.

"On one side were the courage of despair, and something of the resources of scientific warfare ; on the other side, men-at-arms of the mediaeval type, with crowded ranks of spear-men and archers thronging on in fool-hardy disorder."[1]

On April 19, a night attack by Bābur's men failed.

On April 20, there was a scare in Bābur's army, of being out-numbered by the Indian forces.

On April 21, the Imperial army, emboldened by the unimpressive conduct of the enemy, forged ahead. Owing to its large numbers, it had to converge suddenly ; the wide front collapsed in confusion in re-adjusting itself before Bābur's narrower entrenched position.

A keen master of strategy, Bābur at once had recourse to *Tulghma*,[2] and simultaneous artillery action. The Mughals

1. Keene, *History of India,* I, p. 76.

2. This was the usual Uzbeg tactic : first turning the enemy's flank, then charging simultaneously on front and rear, letting fly the arrows at a breakneck gallop, and if repulsed returning at top-speed. Bābur learnt this from Shaibānī, at the battle of Sar-i-pul and learnt to use it with deadly effect in India. (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 57.) For plan of battle see Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 131, C. H. I., IV, pp. 12-13.

surrounded the Indians on all sides and attacked, routed and slaughtered. Seldom was a day 'so fought, so followed, so fairly won.'

'The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset began and the battle lasted till mid-day, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my people victorious and triumphant. By the grace and mercy of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the course of half a day, was laid in the dust.'

Result : Ibrāhīm lay dead on the field, together with Bikram, the Hindu Rājā of Gwālior, "who had joined the Muslim Sultān in defence of their common country."[1]

(2) 6,000 corpses were counted near where the Sultān was found dead ; 15 or 16 thousand had died in different parts of the field. 'On reaching Āgrā, we found from the accounts of the natives of Hindūstān, that 40,000 or 50,000 men had fallen in the field.'[2]

(3) "The land simply changed masters after one supreme effort." [3]

"To the Afghāns of Delhi the battle of Pānīpat was their Cannae. It was the ruin of their dominion, the end of their power."[4]

(4) The battle of Pānīpat marks the end of the second stage in Bābur's conquest of Hindūstān.

Reasons : Ibrāhīm Lodī, though not lacking in personal valour, was, in Bābur's estimation, 'an inexperienced young man careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight.'

(2) The week when the two armies lay facing each other, went in Bābur's favour : it gave his men time to regain their self-confidence.

1. Keene, op. cit.
2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 255.
3. Keene, loc. cit.
4. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 166.

(3) The Delhi army had come up too precipitately without a halt from the start. It was not disciplined enough for orderly re-adjustments to given situations. A sudden attempt in this direction threw its vast numbers into utter confusion.

(4) Bābur was, on the contrary, a tried and resourceful commander, and his veterans were seasoned and disciplined warriors. "His men began the battle in no small alarm : it was their Emperor's cool science and watchful tactics that restored their confidence and gave them back their pluck."[1] Lanepool

(5) Ibrāhīm's war-elephants and vast numbers were more a source of weakness than strength against Bābur's scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The last was used in India among the earliest by Bābur.[2]

The sequel.

After the victory Bābur at once despatched Humāyūn, with Khwājā Kalān, to Āgrā, and another party to take charge of the forts and treasure of Delhi. On Friday, April 27, the *khutbā* was read in his name at Delhi.

Marching with the main army, Bābur halted on the Jumnā, opposite Delhi, in order to visit the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes. 'On Thursday, the 28th *Rajab* (May 10th), about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Āgrā, and took up my residence in Sultān Ibrāhīm's palace.' Here Bābur received from Humāyūn, among other treasures, a diamond (Koh-i-noor?) valued at 'half the daily expenditure of the whole

1. Ibid.

2. Bābur's description of the reception of the fire-arms at Bājaur is interesting :—

'The people of Bājaur,' he writes, 'had never seen matchlocks, and at first were not in the least afraid of them ; but, hearing the reports of the shots, stood opposite the guns, mocking and playing unseemly antics. But, that day Ustād Āli Kūli (the chief gunner) brought down five men with his matchlock, and Wali Kazin killed two and the other musketeers shot well and bravely, . . . and aiming so truly that before night seven to ten Bājauris were laid low, whereupon defenders of the fort became so frightened that not a man ventured to show his head for fear of the matchlockmen.'

world.'[1] But the father, in generous recognition of his son's services, presented it to Humāyūn together with other gifts worth 70,00,000 *dāms* (or £20,000). 'A *pargana* of the value of seven *lacs* was bestowed on Ibrāhīm's mother. *Parganas* were also given to each of her *Amīrs*. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace, which was assigned for her residence, about a *kos* below Āgrā.[2] His *Bégs* received six to ten *lacs* apiece (£ 1,700 to £ 2,800). Every soldier got his share of the booty. Even traders and camp-followers were not forgotten in the bounty, including those who were absent. Friends in Farghāna, Khorāsān, Kāshghar, and Persia were surprised with gifts of gold and silver, cloth and jewels, and captive slaves. Holy men in Herāt, Samarkand, Mecca and Medina got their offerings ; and every person in Kābul, man and woman, slave and free, young and old, received a silver coin as a memento of the victory. The balance was stored up in the vaults of the capital for the support of the army and administration.[3]

POST-PĀNĪPAT PROBLEMS

The Afghāns.

'When I first arrived in Āgrā, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards, everywhere, except only in Delhi and Āgrā, the inhabitants fortified different posts, while the governors of towns put

1. Tavernier valued it at £880,000 (Erskine, op. cit., I, p. 438). It had originally belonged to Sultan Alāu-d dīn Khiljī of Mālwā. It was taken by Rājā Bikramjit of Gwālior who had fallen on the field of Pānīpat. Now the Gwālior army presented it to Humāyūn as ransom while he besieged Āgrā (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 257).

It weighed 8 *miskals* or 224 *rati* (672 carats). Aurangzīb's diamond presented to him by Mīr Jumla, weighed 900 carats. (Briggs, II, pp. 46-7). C. H. I., IV, p. 13, says that the diamond is now in the Tower of London.

2. E. & D., loc. cit.
3. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 166-7.

their fortifications in a posture of defence, and refused to submit or obey.' The nature of the situation he was confronted with, after his victory at Pānīpat is best described in his own words :—

(*a*) 'Kāsim Sambhalī was in Sambhal,

(*b*) 'Nizām Khān in Bayāna,

(*c*) 'the Rājā Hasan Khān Mewātī himself in Mewāt. 'That infidel was the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections.

(*d*) 'Kanauj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of refractory Afghāns, such as Nāsir Khān Lohānī, Ma'ruf Farmūlī,[1] and a number of other *Amīrs* who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years before the death of Ibrāhīm.

'At the period I defeated that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kanauj and the country in that quarter, and had advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of Kanauj. They elected Bihār Khān (or Bahādur Khān), the son of Daryā Khān, as their King, and gave him the name of Sultān Mahmūd. When I came to Āgrā we could not find grain or provendor, either for ourselves or for our horses. The villagers, out of hostility for us, had taken to rebellion, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable.

'I had not time, after the division of treasure, to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different *parganas* and stations.' To make matters worse, the heat was abnormal that year, and many of Bābur's men dropped down dead. Not a few of his *Bégs* and best men began to lose heart, objected

1. Sheikh Rizkhulla Mushtaki (1492-1581) A.D.) in his *Wākiāt-i-Mushtaki* characterises this Mian Ma'ruf Farmūlī in the following terms : 'He was a saintly, courageous, and generous man. From the time of Sultān Bahlol to that of Islām Shāh, he fought in every battle-field but always escaped without a wound. He would accept of no reward or present from any king (as he was working 'solely in the cause of God') and would never eat food from the house of any Hindu.' For interesting anecdotes illustrating this character, see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 548-9.

to remaining in Hindūstān, and even began to make preparations for retreat. 'I no sooner heard this murmuring among my troops, than I summoned all my *Bégs* to a council. I told them that, by Divine power, I had routed my formidable enemy and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kābul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? "Let not any one who calls himself my friend, ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any one among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart." Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes.'

The final subjugation of the Afghāns had to be deferred in the face of a more formidable foe.

The Rājputs.

Rāṇā Sangrām Singh of Mewār, popularly known as Rāṇā Sanga,[1] and Medini Rāi of Chānderī, were two tough warriors under whose leadership the Rājputs had determined to drive out the insolent invader.

1. 'Rāṇā Sanga was the head of the Rājput principality of Chitor, and the representative of a family which, by universal consent of the Rājputs, is allowed the pre-eminence among all the Rājput tribes as the most ancient and the noblest. Like Bābur, he had been educated in the school of adversity. After overcoming the many difficulties and dangers of his early life, when he at length mounted the throne, he carried on successful wars with his neighbours on every side, and added largely to his hereditary dominions. From Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī, the king of Mālwā—whom he defeated in battle, took prisoner, and honourably entertained in a spirit worthy of the best days of chivalry—he had wrested the wide and valuable provinces of Bhilsā, Sārangpūr, Chānderī and Rantambhor. He had engaged in hostilities with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Delhi, and twice had

The fact that Muslims like Hasan Khān Mewātī, and Sultān Mahmūd Lodī (brother of Ibrāhīm Lodī) had joined with the Rāṇā, made it apparent that *it was not a war of the Hindus against the Muhammadans, but a united national effort against a common enemy of the country.*

Ahmad Yādgār, in his *Tārīkh-i-Salatin-i Afghānā* writes : 'Rāṇā Sanga who was at that time a powerful chief, sent a message to Hasan Khān saying, "The Mughals have entered Hindūstān, have slain Sultān Ibrāhīm, and taken possession of the country ; it is evident that they will likewise send an army against both of us ; if you will side with me we will be alive, and not suffer them to take possession."[1]

But Bābur himself looked upon this only as a *holy war* against the infidel, with whom had joined some Muslim apostates. This is indicated by his assumption of the title of *Ghāzī* after the victory : 'After this victory, I used the epithet of *Ghāzī*, in the Imperial titles.' This was necessary to arouse his dispirited and home-sick followers. Bābur was a master of the art of persuasion, with a keen eye for the dramatic.

'A general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a manly opinion. The *Wazīrs*, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the *Amīrs*

met the Sultān himself in pitched battles. Eighty thousand horses, seven Rājās of the highest rank, nine Rāos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rāwul and Rāwut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Mārwār and Amber did him homage, and the Rāos of Gwālior, Ajmer, Sīkrī, Rāisen, Kalpek, Chānderī, Bundi, Gagraon, Rāmpura, and Ābu, served him as tributaries or held of him in fief. His personal figure corresponded with his deeds. He exhibited at his death but the fragment of a warrior ; one eye was lost in the broil with his brother, an arm in an action with the Lodī King of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken with a cannon-ball in another, while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body.' (Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 173-4.)

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 35-6.

who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness.'

Preliminary skirmishes only confirmed the apprehensions of Bābur's men, who had heard disconcerting stories of Rājput valour. Bābur, as Lane-Poole points out, "was now to meet warriors of a higher type than any he had encountered. The Rājputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour." [1]

The forebodings of an astrologer, whom Bābur describes as an 'evil-minded rascally fellow,' made things appear more ominous. But Bābur rose equal to the situation, as always he had done :

'On Monday, the 23rd of the first *Jumāda,* I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved one time after another to make effectual repentance.' He had been a confirmed toper ; [1] now he determined to renounce wine forever.

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 176.

2. Here is a typical passage from his *Memoirs,* wonderfully frank and joyous :—

Oct. 18 : ' We halted at Jagdalik. Towards evening prayer there was a drinking party ; most of the household were present. Near the end, G. M. grew very noisy and troublesome, and, when he got drunk, slid down on the cushion by my side, whereupon G. T. picked him up and carried him out.

Marching thence before day-break I explored the valley of the Baria-ab : some *turak* trees were in great beauty. We halted there and, having dined seasonably, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made them kill a sheep picked up on the road, had some meat dressed, and amused ourselves by kindling oak branches.

Oct. 29 : On Sunday I had a party in the small picture-cabinet over the gate. Though the room was very small we were sixteen.

Oct. 30 : We went to Istalif to see the harvest. This day was done the sin of *Ma'jun* (i.e., I took *bhāng*). During the night there was a great deal of rain : most of the *Bégs* and household were

So, 'having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, etc., I directed to be divided among the *derwishes* and the poor.'

Salt was thrown into the store of wine just received from Ghaznī ; all the rest found in the camp was poured upon the ground ; and a well was ordered to be dug, and an alms-house built on the spot, to commemorate this great religious event. As a boon to his Muhammadan followers and subjects, he gave up the *tamgha* or stamp-tax in all his dominions *so far as Muslims were concerned*.

To 'stiffen the sinews, and summon up the blood' of his men Bābur also made a stirring appeal to them in the following words :—

"Noblemen and soldiers ! Every man that comes into this

obliged to take refuge in my tent outside the garden : Next morning we had a drinking party in the same garden : we continued at it till night.

Nov. 1 : On the following morning we again had an early cup. . . . getting intoxicated, went to sleep. About noon-day prayers we left Istalif and took a drug (*bhāng*) on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before we reached Bihazadi. The crops were extremely good. While we were riding round the harvest fields, those who were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking bout. Although *bhāng* had been taken, yet as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit and began to drink. We kept the party in the same place till bed-time prayers. Abdullah who had got very drunk and made an offensive remark, recovering his senses, was in terrible perturbation, and conversed in a wonderfully smooth and sweet strain all the rest of the evening.

Jan. 6, 1520 : We embarked on a raft and alighted near the Garden of Fulfilment. Its oranges were yellowing well and the green of the plants was beautiful. We stayed five or six days there. *As I intended when forty years old to abstain from wine, and as now I wanted somewhat less than one year of that age, I drank wine most copiously.*

world is subject to dissolution......How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy...... God Most High has been gracious in giving us this destiny, that if we fall we die martyrs, if we conquer we triumph in His Holy Cause. Let us swear with one accord that, by the Great Name of God, we will never turn back from such a death, or shrink from the stress of battle, till our souls are parted from our bodies."[1]

To suit the action to his words, on New Year's Day (March 12, 1527) 'they took a number of Pagans and cut off their heads, which they brought in......This raised the spirits of the army wonderfully, and gave them confidence. They swore by the divorce of their wives, and on the Holy Book': they recited the *fatiha* and said, "O King! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as breath and life are in our bodies."

Jan. 7 : Mullā Yarak played an air, which he composed to the *Mukhammas* measure while I took my drug. It was charming. For sometime I had not much attended to musical matters. I took a fancy that I too should compose something.

Jan. 10 : While taking an early glass it was said in sport that whoever spoke like a Persian should drink a cup. In the result many drank. About nine in the morning, while we were sitting under willows in the meadow, it was proposed that everyone who spoke like a Turk should drink a cup; and numbers drank. When the sun mounted high we went under the orange trees and drank our wine on the bank.'

1. Cf. The *Bhagawad Gītā*, Ch. II.—
'Nought better can betide a martial soul
Than lawful war; happy the warrior
To whom comes joy of battle—comes, as now,
Glorious and fair, unsought; opening for him
A gateway of Heaven ....
.... Either, being killed,
Thou wilt win *Swarga's* safety, or alive
And victor, thou wilt reign an earthly King.'
(Tr. Edwin Arnold.)

Jihād.

Bābur declared *Jīhād* or holy war on the infidel, on February 11, 1527. The justification for it is to be found in the following statements :—

(i) 'Although Rāṇā Sanga, the Pagan, when I was in Kābul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Āgrā ; yet, when I defeated Ibrāhīm, and took Delhi and Āgrā, the Pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement.'

(ii) On the other hand the Rāṇā also complained of broken faith ; and, in particular claimed Kālpī, Dholpūr, Bayāna, as well as Āgrā—all of which had been occupied by Bābur.[1]

(iii) 'Rāṇā Sanga, having reduced Nizām Khān of Bayāna to great extremities, that chief sent a deputation to Bābur, requesting his aid, for which he was ready to pay him due homage. The King did not hesitate to accept his allegiance, and sending a force to expel Sanga, Nizām Khān was confirmed in possession of Bayāna, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty *lacs* of rupees.'[2]

The two armies met at Khānua (10 miles from Sīkrī ; 20 from Āgrā) on Saturday, March 16, 1527.

Bābur's arrangements were in the main similar to those at Pānīpat, with this difference, that guns this time were mounted on wheeled tripods to facilitate movement. A special feature in the disposition was also the great strength of the reserve. Bābur in person led the centre, Humāyūn was on the right, and Mahdi Khwājā (Bābur's brother-in-law ?) on the left.[3]

The effectives on the Rājput side, no doubt, outnumbered

1. Erskine, op. cit., p. 462.
2. Briggs, II, p. 51.
3. For plan and details see Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 150.

their antagonists by seven or eight to one;[1] and, although Bābur's army on this occasion was greater than the one he had commanded at Pānīpat, "the depression and vacillation which the Pādshāh was at pains to overcome proves that the average morale was not so good".[2]

Results: The victory of Bābur, was nevertheless, final and complete. 'Hardly a clan of the Rājputs was there but had lost the flower of its princely blood.' Rāṇā Sanga himself escaped badly wounded. The heads of the gallant Rājputs (who had been 'sent to hell') were built into a ghastly tower, and Bābur, as previously stated, assumed the title of *Ghāzī* or victor in holy war.

The consequences of the battle of Khānua[3] were most momentous: (i) The menace of Rājput supremacy, which had loomed large before the eyes of the Muhammadans in India for the last ten years, was removed once for all. (ii) The Mughal Empire in India was now firmly established. In the words of R. Williams, "Bābur had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultān Ibrāhīm and the sign and seal of his achievement had been the annihilation of Sultān Ibrāhīm's most formidable antagonists. *Hitherto the occupation of Hindūstān might have been looked upon as an episode in Bābur's career of adventure: but from henceforth it became the key-note of his activities for the remainder of his life.* His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away: the fortune is his, and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his carreer which this battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken field. Fighting there is, and fighting in plenty, to be done; but fighting for

1. Whatever the exact numbers might have been "a more gallant army could not be brought into the field". (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 180.)

2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 152.

3. A village in Bharatpūr State 37 miles west of Āgrā. C. H. I., IV, p. 16.

the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne.

(iv) "It is also significant," he further observes, "of Bābur's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth *the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kābul to Hindūstān* ... He resolutely remained in India for the rest of his days, fighting, governing, administering, striving to put all things upon a sound basis ere death called him away."[1]

(v) Within a year Bābur had struck two decisive blows, which shattered the power of two great organised forces: the battle of Pānīpat had utterly broken the Afghān power in India; the battle of Khānua (also called Sīkrī) crushed the great Rājput Confederacy.[2]

Reduction of Rebels.

Bābur commissioned his officers to subjugate the rest of the country, and sent them in various directions with small forces to help them. "These little bands fought with utmost zeal, conscious that they were making their own fortunes, while at the same time the territories thus acquired represented an extension of the dominions of their master."[3]

Humāyūn conquered Sambhal, Jaunpūr, Ghāzīpūr, and Kālpī; Muhammad Āli Jang-Jang captured Rabiri; Mahdī Khwājā subdued Etāwā; Kanauj was taken by Sultān Muhammad Duldarī; and Dholpūr by Sultān Junaid Barlās. Sheikh Guren of Kol (Doab) was won over by promise of protection; Sheikh Bāyazīd—an important lieutenant of the Lodī king—was granted a *jāgir* worth a *crore* of rupees in Oudh. Bayānā and Gwālior had rallied round Bābur for fear of the Rājputs; and the Lohānī and Farmūlī chiefs who had championed the cause of Sultān Mahmūd, melted away before Bābur's concentration of forces. Hasan Khān Mewātī died on the field of Khānua."[4]

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 156-7.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 182.
3. Rushbrooke Williams, loc. cit., p. 142.
4. Bābur bestowed on Hasan Khān's son a *pargana* of several *lacs* for his support'...'I bestowed on Chin Tīmūr Sultān the city

When Bābur felt his grip on Hindūstān sure beyond doubt he sent back Humāyūn to Badakhshān and other important officers to other parts of his dominions outside India. Kandahār, ever since its final conquest in 1522, was in Kāmrān's charge. Khwājā Kalān, Bābur's old general, had been sent to Ghaznī after the battle of Pānīpat. Askarī was established in Multān when it was conquered in 1527. Hindāl was at Kābul.

In February, 1529, Bābur wrote to Khwājā Kalān in Afghānistān : 'The affairs of Hindustān have at length been brought to some degree of order, and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand when, through His favour, everything will be quite settled here.' But after the battle of Khānua, and before Bābur could realise the hope here expressed, there were at least three more enemies left to overcome :—

1. *Maidani Rāi of Chānderī* : 'On Monday the 14th of the first *Rabi,* (Dec. 9, 1527) I set out in pursuance of a vow, on a holy war against Chānderī (near Bhopāl)...Chānderī had formerly belonged to the Sultāns of Māndū......When Rāṇā Sanga advanced with an army against Ibrāhīm as far as Dholpūr, that prince's *Amīrs* rose against him and on that occasion Chānderī fell into Sanga's hands. He bestowed it on Maidani Rāi, a Pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with 4000 or 5000 Pagans......I sent to him to assure him of my favour and clemency, and offering him Shamsābād in exchange for Chānderī. Two or three considerable people about him were averse to conciliation,......and the treaty broke off without success....So, the citadel was attacked on all sides...Some of our troops were attacked furiously, and put to the sword. The reason for this desperate sally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they put to death the whole of their wives and women, and, having resolved

of Tajara, which was the capital of Mewāt, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty *lacs*........I bestowed the treasures of Alwar, with everything in the fort, upon Humāyūn.' (E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 273-4.)

to perish, had stripped themselves naked,[1] in which condition they had rushed out to the fight ; and engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred Pagans had entered Maidani Rāi's house, where numbers of them slew each other. In this way *many went to hell* ; and by the favour of God, in the space of two or three *gharis,* I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my standard, or beating my kettle-drum, and without using the whole strength of my arms. On the top of a hill to the north-west of Chānderī, *I erected a tower of the heads of Pagans* . . . . I gave Chānderī to Ahmad Shāh, the grandson of Sultān Nāsiru-d dīn, and fixed a revenue of fifty *lacs* to be paid from it to the Imperial treasury.' We also learn from Ahmad Yādgār: 'So much plunder was taken from that heathen army' by the *Amīrs* 'that the King's troops obtained sufficient to support them for years.'[2]

2. *Afghān Rebels* : On February 2, 1528, Bābur set out to punish the Afghān rebels who had advanced from Bihār into Doāb, stormed Shamsābād,[3] and driven the Imperial garrison out of Kanauj. At Bābur's approach, the enemy crossed the river Ganges and mustered on its left bank to dispute Bābur's passage. The Emperor reached the great river, on February 27; built a bridge across its broad stream, by March 13, put the insurgents to headlong flight, and hotly pursued them as far as Oudh. After this Bābur returned to Āgrā for the rainy season.

1. Cf. Ahmad Yādgār who writes : 'The warriors of his vanguard, having already taken the fort, made captives of the connexions and family of the Rājā, and despatched them to the foot of the royal throne. His Majesty presented two of the daughters of the Rājā, whose beauty was unrivalled, who had never been exposed to the view of man, or to the hot winds ; one to Mīrzā Kāmrān, the other to Prince Muhammad Humāyūn, and gave the others to the *Sardārs* of the army.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 39).

2. Ibid.

3. Bābur had bestowed Shamsābād on Bikramjit, the second son of Rāṇā Sanga, in return for Rantambhor. (E. & D., op cit., IV, p. 281).

'On Thursday, the 3rd of the first *Jumāda,* I received letters which contained intelligence that Mahmūd, the son of Iskandar, had taken Bihār. On Thursday, the 17th, we marched eight *kos,* and halted at Dakdaki, a *pargana* of Karra, on the banks of the Ganges .... While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sultān Mahmūd had gathered round him 100,000 Afghāns, and was moving upon Chunār ; that Sher Khān Sūr, on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several *parganas,* and whom I left in command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghāns .... On the 24th,...it appeared that the rebels had come and laid siege to Chunār ; but that on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation, broke up in confusion and raised the siege.'

3. *Nusrat Shāh of Bengal* : After this the rebels sought refuge in Bengal. 'As I was at peace with Bengal, and had always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things,' Bābur started negotiations with Nusrat Shāh, the ruler of Bengal. Failing in this, he sent an ultimatum : 'If he refused to leave the passage open, and neglected to listen to the remonstrances which I made, then whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard that as proceeding from his own act ; and he would have himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstances that occurred.'

On May 6, 1529, the issue was decided finally at the battle of the Gogrā (Buxār). The result was disastrous to the Bengalis : 'The Bengalis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point, but discharge at random.' On Bābur's side, "the movement was brilliantly carried out in the face of a determined resistance. Attacked in front and rear and flank, the enemy broke and fled. Good generalship had once more guided valour to victory."[1] A treaty of peace was concluded with Bengal, according to which

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 192.

each party was to respect the sovereignty of the other and neither party was to shelter or support the other's enemies.[1]

Sheikh Bāyazīd, who had throughout sided with the rebels, once more attacked Lucknow, but could not hold on for long : 'It appeared that on Saturday, the 12th of *Ramzān*, the enemy had made an attack, but could effect nothing. During the assault, some hay that had been collected, being set on fire by the fireworks, turpentine, and other combustibles that were thrown on it, the inside of the fort became as hot as an oven, and it was impossible to stand on the parapet, and consequently the fort was taken.' 'On the 18th *Shawwal* at midnight I reached the garden of *Hasht-bihist* at Āgrā.

BĀBUR'S LAST DAYS

Bābur had very few days left to him now on this side of the grave. When everything was quite settled in Hindūstān, he had written to Khwājā Kalān in Afghānistān, 'I shall set out for your quarters, God willing, without losing a moment. How can the delights of those lands ever be erased from the heart? How can one like me, who has vowed abstinence and purity of life, possibly forget the delicious melons and grapes of that happy land? The other day they brought me a musk-melon : as I cut it up I felt a deep home-sickness, and sense of exile from my land, and I could not help weeping.'

Accordingly, he even set out and went as far as Lāhore, where he met his son Kāmrān. He was disappointed at Humā-yūn's failure against the Uzbegs. He had recalled Hindāl, his youngest son, from Kābul. The strain of his ceaseless campaigns, wanderings, and early drinking excesses, had told upon him rather heavily, despite his extraordinary energy and strength.

" He had been known to take up a man under each arm, and run with them round the battlements of a fortress, leaping the embrasures ; and even in March, 1529, he notes : 'I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my

1. Cf. C. H. I., IV, p. 18.

strokes, and found that I swam over in thirty-three strokes. I then took breath, and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river I had met, except only the Ganges.' He was also perpetually in saddle, riding 80 miles a day sometimes, and the rapidity of his marches was often amazing."[1]

He had even survived the poison administered to him by Ibrāhīm Lodī's mother.[2] Now his strength was on the decline; even his mental vigour seemed to have been affected. There was a plot to set aside Humāyūn, in favour of Mīr Muhammad Mahdi Khwājā (Bābur's sister's husband?). Humāyūn received a timely warning, and hastened to Āgrā, which he reached on June 27, 1529, together with his mother.

Nomination of Humāyūn.

"If God should grant you the throne and crown", Bābur said to him, "do not put your brothers to death, but look sharply after them." In the summer of 1530 Humāyūn fell dangerously ill. In this state he was carried from Sambhal to Delhi. Hearing of this, Bābur tenderly expressed to Māham, Humāyūn's mother, "Although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humāyūn. I crave that this cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and *I desire the kingdom for him* because he has not his equal in distinction!"

Every school-boy knows the story how Bābur bore away his son's illness and sacrificed himself in order to save Humāyūn. As the latter recovered the former became worse; and after two or three months Bābur died, on Monday, December 26, 1530.[3]

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 188.

2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 144-5. Also see S. M. Edwardes, *Bābur : Diarist and Despot*, pp. 63-7. Bābur, when he recovered from the effects of this poison, observed : 'An evil arrived but happily passed. God gave me new birth ... I know to-day the worth of life!'

3. Read S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 13 ; S. R. Sharma, 'The Story of Bābur's Death' in the *Calcutta Review*, Sept. 1936.

Just before this he had called his *Amīrs* together and told them : " *For years it has been in my heart to surrender my throne to Humāyūn* and retire to the Gold-Scattering Garden. By the Divine Grace I have obtained in health all things but the fulfilment of this wish. Now, when I am laid low by illness, *I charge you to acknowledge Humāyūn as my successor, and to remain loyal to him.* Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humāyūn will also bear himself well before men.'

Then turning to Humāyūn he repeated his admonition to him regarding, in particular, the treatment of his brothers : " Humāyūn, I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people ; and all of those I confide to you . . . . The cream of my testamentary directions is this : ' Do nought against your brothers, even though they may deserve it.'

By his own desire, Bābur's body was carried to Kābul and buried there in ' the sweetest spot ' on a hill-side, amidst beloved surroundings, a cool running stream and sweet-smelling flowers.[1]

" Death makes no conquest of this Conqueror,
For now he lives in Fame."

ESTIMATE OF BĀBUR

Bābur's fundamental qualities, according to an old estimate, were ' a lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God, ability to win the hearts of his soldiers, and love of justice '.[2]

" Bābur ", writes Vincent A. Smith, " was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country." [3]

1. For interesting particulars read S. K. Banerji, op. cit., p. 15.
2. Cited by Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 179.
3. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 321.

Havell says, "His engaging personality, artistic temperament, and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of Islām."[1]

According to Elliot, "Good humoured, brave, munificent, sagacious, and frank in his character, he might have been a Henry IV if his training had been in Europe."[2]

'In his person', writes Ferishta, 'Bābur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance was pleasing, and his disposition affable.'[3]

Last but not the least, Bābur's cousin Mīrzā Haidar describes him as being 'adorned with various virtues and clad with numberless excellences, above all which towered bravery and humanity .... Indeed, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents, nor any of his race perform such amazing exploits or experience such strange adventures.'[4]

(1) Bābur as a Man.

According to Lane-Poole, "His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful *Memoirs* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Bābur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception .... *His battles as well as his orgies were humanised by a breath of poetry.*"[5]

As a man of parts, the estimate of Mīrzā Haidar is invaluable: 'In the composition of Turkī poetry he (Bābur) was second only to Amīr Āli Shir. He has written a *dīvān* in the most lucid Turkī. He invented a style of verse called *mubāiyān,* and was the author of a most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been generally adopted. He also wrote

1. Havell, *Āryan Rule in India,* p. 420.
2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 219.
3. Briggs, II, p. 65.
4. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī;* cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 10 n.
5. Lane-Poole, loc. cit., pp. 10, 12.

an essay on Turkī prosody, more elegant than any other and versified the *Rasāla-i-Vālidiya* of His Reverence (?). Then there is his *Wakai*, or Turkī *Memoirs*, written in simple, unaffected, yet pure style. He excelled in music and other arts.' [1]

Bābur was undoubtedly a man of outstanding genius, a lover of fine arts, a born naturalist, a keen and critical observer of men and things, and an accomplished writer who has immortalised himself, not merely as the founder of one of the most glorious dynasties that have ruled in India, but also as the prince of autobiographers by bequeathing to posterity his delightful *Memoirs* which abound in descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industries, "more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space, in any modern traveller; and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, truly surprising."

"But," Elphinstone very truly observes, "the great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper with which he set out on his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyments of nature and imagination."[2]

"No part of his character," Erskine points out, "is more admirable than his uniform humanity and kindliness of disposition. If, in the course of his *Memoirs* some cruel executions appear, they belong to the age, not to the man. The

1. Bābur, besides being a perfect writer of the various scripts in use during his time, had also invented a style of his own, which was called after him 'the *Bāburi* script'. To Humāyūn his advice was to 'write unaffectedly, clearly, with plain words, which saves trouble to both writer and reader.' 'The language of kings,' he wrote, 'is the king of languages.' This at any rate aptly describes the quality of Bābur's own writings. For an appreciation of arts and letters under Bābur, read S. M. Jaffar, *The Mughal Empire*, pp. 27-31.

2. Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 438-439.

historians of his reign remark, that whenever any, either of his nobles or brothers, had revolted or entered into rebellion against him, no sooner did they acknowledge their offence and return to their duty than, to use the words of Khāfī Khān, contrary to the customs of the princes of Persia, Arabia, or India, he not only forgave them, but never retained towards them any feeling of resentment." [1]

Bābur was pre-eminently a man of faith. "Nothing happens," he used to say, "but by the will of God. Reposing ourselves on His protection, we must go forward." He attributed every bit of his success to the grace of the Almighty. After his victory over Ibrāhīm, even before entering the capital, he reverently visited the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes in the vicinity of Delhi. His glorious renunciation of wine before the battle of Khānua was an act of genuine repentance for his sins before God.

(2) Bābur as a General.

The history of Bābur that we have traced is nothing if it were not a record of brilliant generalship. Himself 'an admirable horseman, a fine shot, a good swordsman, and a mighty hunter,' Bābur was well calculated to catch the imagination of his soldiers. Besides these qualities, he possessed in an eminent degree the supreme virtues of a born leader of men. He enjoyed and suffered with his men, and thoroughly understood every man in his army, both officer and private. What is perhaps more necessary in a commander of armies, he correctly gauged both the strength and the weakness of the commanders and armies that were opposed to him. Above all, to his native courage he added the unbending tenacity of his will and the unquenchable fire of his ambition. 'Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway,' he writes, 'one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

'What though the field be lost,
All is not lost—the unconquerable will,
And courage never to submit or yield.'

1. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 524-5.

The following passage from his *Memoirs* is typical of his life :—

1507—'For about a week we went on trampling down the snow, yet were only able to make two or three miles a day. I helped in trampling the snow : with ten or fifteen of my household, and with Kāsim Bég and his sons and a few servants, we all dismounted and laboured at beating down the snow. Each step we sank to the waist or the breast, but still we went on trampling it down. After a few paces a man became exhausted, and another took his place. Then the men who were treading it down dragged forward a horse without a rider ; the horse sank the stirrups and girths, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces was worn out and replaced by another ; and thus ten to twenty of us trod down the snow and brought our horses on, whilst the rest—even our best men, many of them *Bégs*—rode along the road thus beaten down for them, hanging their heads : *It was no time for worrying them or using authority : if a man has pluck and hardihood, he will press forward to such work of his own accord.*

'That night the storm was terrible, and snow fell so heavily that we all expected to die together. When we reached the mountain cave the storm was at its worst. We dismounted at its mouth. Deep snow ! a one-man road ! and even on that stamped-down and trampled road, pit-falls for horses ! The days at their shortest ! The first arrivals reached the cave by day-light, later they dismounted wherever they happened to be ; dawn found many still in the saddle. The cave secured was small. I took a shovel, and scraping and clearing the snow away made a place for myself as big as a prayer-carpet—near its mouth. I dug down breast high, but did not reach the ground. This made me a little shelter from the wind when I sat right down in it. They begged me to go inside, but I would not. *I felt that for me to be in warm shelter and comfort whilst my men were out in the snow and drift, for me to be sleeping at ease inside, whilst my men were in misery and distress, was not a man's act and far from comradeship. What strong men can stand, I would stand : for, as the Persian proverb says, "In the company of friends, Death is a nuptial feast."* So I remained in the snow and wind in the hole that I had dug out, with snow four-hands thick on my head and back and ears.'

But, where strictness was called for, Bābur never hesitated : Ferishta observes, 'He even used violence to prevent outrage' ; 'It is certain', he adds, 'his presence alone saved the

honour of Daulat Khān's family,[1] (when Bābur's men would have otherwise outraged it). Bābur preserved by his exertions on this occasion, a fine library collected by Ghāzī Khān (Daulat Khān's son), who was a poet and a man of learning.'[2] Bābur himself records : 'Having learned that the troops had exercised some severities towards the inhabitants of Bahrāh, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of the excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others and had them led about the camp in that condition. *As I reckoned the countries that had belonged to the Turks as my own territories, I admitted of no plundering or pillage.*'[3]

(3) Bābur as a Ruler.

The Empire of Bābur extended from Badakhshān to Bengal, from the Oxus to the Ganges : in India alone, from Bhīrā (Bahrā) in the west to Bihār in the east ; from the Himālayas in the north to Chānderī in the South. But 'I had not time .... to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different *parganas* and stations'. Bābur was too much preoccupied with wars and conquests to devote any serious attention to the administrative organisation of his vast dominions. Having conquered, his primary consideration seemed to be to maintain his kingdom in peace and order. This, no doubt, he was well qualified to do, with his military genius and efficient army. But to organise conquest and to organise administration are two different things ; the latter calls for genius of an altogether different type. Sher Shāh and Akbar possessed this, but not Bābur.

(i) To court danger and hardship, and show valour in arms ;

(ii) To shun indolence and ease, as unbecoming of a King;

(iii) To consult *Bégs* and ministers ; to avoid private parties ; to call the court to public levees twice every day ;

1. We have already noted how he honourably provided for Ibrāhīm Lodī's mother after the Sultān's death at Pānīpat.

2. Briggs, II, p. 42.

3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 233.

(iv) To keep up the strength and discipline of the army —these were the principles he had inculcated upon Humāyūn ; and they seem to have nearly exhausted Bābur's kingly code. He was, no doubt, anxious to protect his subjects from the oppression of free-booters, as is indicated by the following casual observation in his *Memoirs* :—' Every time that I have entered Hindūstān, the Jāts and Gujars have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches that really inflicted the chief hardships, and were guilty of the severest oppression in the country. These districts (in the Punjāb) in former times, had been in a state of revolt and yielded very little revenue that could be come at. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices ..... I sought out the persons guilty of these outrages, discovered them and ordered two or three of the number to be cut in pieces.'

Another instance of Bābur's ruthlessness in putting down marauders is also recorded by Ahmad Yādgār : ' When he reached Sirhind, one of the *Kāzīs* of Samana complained to him that Mohan Mundāhir had attacked his estate and burned it, plundered all his property, and slain his son. His Majesty, the Conqueror of the World, appointed Āli Kūli Hamadāni, with three thousand horse, to avenge the injury which the Mundāhir had done to the petitioner ..... Nearly a thousand of the Mundāhirs were killed, and a thousand men, women, and children taken prisoners. The slaughter was great, and there was a heap of severed heads ; and Mohan was taken alive. An account of the conquest of the village was sent to the Shāh. The village had been fully inhabited for no less than 160 years in the *pargana* of Kaithal ; but was then made and still continues to be, a desert, and has never been inhabited again, although 160 years have elapsed since its destruction. When the prisoners were brought to Delhi, all the women were given to the Mughals. The offending Mundāhir was buried

in the earth up to his waist, and then pierced to death with arrows. Such was the respect for the army which this produced amongst the people of Hind that thenceforth no one ventured either to rebel or disobey.'[1]

Apart from this, he also did what was necessary, in order to ensure speedy communication between the principal parts of his dominions ; *e.g.*, he took care to maintain intact the Grand Trunk Road between Āgrā and Kābul, establishing a regular series of post-houses, at a distance of about fifteen miles from each other, and stationed relays of six horses and proper officers at each.[2]

Ferishta says, 'Whenever he marched, he always caused roads to be measured after him, a custom which prevails among the Emperors of Hindūstān to this day ; and the statute he made concerning the measurement of distance has hitherto remained in force . . . . . . The *gaz Sikandarī* or yard of Sikandar, which prevailed when he reached India was suspended by the *Bāburī gaz*[3] which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jahāngeer Pādshāh.'[4]

Being a man of high æsthetic tastes, Bābur also delighted in creating beautiful bāgs and buildings, aqueducts and bridges. 'In Āgrā alone,' he writes 'I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons ; and in Āgrā, Sīkrī, Bayāna, Dholpūr, Gwālior, and Koel, there were every day employed on my works 1491 stone-cutters'.

Ahmad Yādgār writes : 'In the second year of His Majesty's reign a beautiful garden was made on the borders of the river Jumnā . . . . he passed his time in that garden, in

1. Ibid. V, pp. 40-42.
2. 'Pathways were introduced into Hindūstān for the first time, they not having been in use before.' Ibid., p. 38.
3. He fixed 100 *tunabs* for 1 *Kroh*

$$1\ tunab = 40\ gaz$$
$$1\ gaz = 9\ (moosht\ or\ fist)$$

or 1 *Kos* = 4000 yards = over $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. (Briggs, II, pp. 66-7).
4. Ibid.

company with Mughal companions and friends, in pleasure and enjoyment and carousing, in the presence of enchanting dancing-girls with rosy cheeks, who sang tunes, and displayed their accomplishments[1] ...... Mīrzā Kāmrān also prepared a splendid garden similar to this in Lāhore'.

He came to a country that was rich beyond the dreams of avarice. 'The chief excellency of Hindūstān,' he noted, 'is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver'. This brought him a large revenue, utilising the old machinery of collection, and no new organisation of Bābur's creation. So, 'the countries from Bahrāh to Bihār, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of 52 *krors* (*tankāhs*), as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, *parganas* to the value of 8 or 9 *krors* are in the possession of some *Rāis* or *Rājās*, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these *parganas* for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience.'[2]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 38.

2. Ibid., IV, p. 262 ; also Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, pp. 387-91. "Everything considered", Erskine put it at "£ 4,212,000 as the amount of Bābur's nominal revenue ; a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect." Erskine, op. cit., p. 542.

Thomas's estimate is 2,60,00,000 silver *tankahs* or £2,600,000. Here it may also be pointed out that Bābur was responsible for the introduction of anonymous coinage in India :

"The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities," Thomas writes, "also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultān's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of the supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

"Bābur's introduction of so much of the leading ideals of his Bokhārā money into Hindustān was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coins of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more elaborately executed *dirhams* and *ashrafis*, in which he outraged local associations.

So much we are able to know from Bābur's own direct testimony ; the rest is mostly inference.[1] However, the following abstract of the description of Bābur's administration by Erskine,[2] ought to prove useful to the reader :—

'Over a great portion of his dominions outside India, especially in the more inaccessible hills and secluded valleys, his sway was hardly admitted by the rude tribes that traversed them ; and prudence was satisfied with some easy acknowledgment which was treated as tribute. In upper and lower Sindh the *khutbā* was read in his name ; but though his supremacy was acknowledged, he had little direct power. To the east of the Indus, all the Punjāb, including Multān, and to the south and east of the Sutlej, the rich provinces of Hindūstān lying between the river and Bihār on the one side, and the Himālaya mountains and the countries of the Rājputs and of Mālwā on the other, were subject to him ; the western boundary being nearly a line marked by the fortresses of Bayāna, Rantambhor, Gwālior, and Chānderī. On the south towards Bengal, the limits of his authority are not well defined. Though he possessed the greater part of Bihār, some portion of it,

"The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pathān issues, 80 of which went to the old *tankāh*, 4 to the modified *Sikandarī*, and 32 to the foreign *Bābarī and Shāh Rukhī*." (ib. p. 314).

1. We also get occasional glimpses of Bābur's administration in statements like the following in Ahmad Yādgār's *Tārīkh-i-Salatin-i Afghāna* :—

'That district was entirely subdued, from one end to the other and collectors were appointed in various places. Orders were issued for reading *khutbā* and coining money, and a *jāgīr* was bestowed upon the fortunate *Shāhzādā*......

'The Mughals, who had for many years desired the possession of Hindūstān, at last governed it.... Amīr Khalifā, being a person of influence, and possessing the chief authority managed the government and his decrees were like those of the Sultān himself.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 37-8).

2. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 526-31.

especially the hilly or wooded parts of the country, were still held by the remains of the Afghāns or by native chiefs. On the frontier of his Empire, the Rājput principalities, the shattered kingdom of Mālwā, Bundelkhand, and Bengal were still independent states.

'There was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast Empire. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil but criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form and under little restraint.

'We have very imperfect means of knowing what were the taxes then levied. The chief revenue was the land-tax directly raised on the land in fully settled and quiet provinces; but where the country remained under its native chiefs, or was not fully subdued, was drawn by the Emperor in the shape of an annual tribute.

'Though frequently the officers of the army or government were rewarded by *jāgīrs* or estates, over which they had very often jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, their legal power over the land itself did not extend to a property in the soil, but to the exercise of such rights as belonged to the government. The *jāgīrdār* or holder of the *jāgīr*, was properly in Musalman times, merely an officer of government, and removable at pleasure, except where the grant had been made hereditary.

'Besides the land-tax, there was a duty levied on the frontier, on goods imported by caravans or otherwise. The *tamgha*, or stamp, was the mark by which, on cattle and in goods, the payment of the duties was ascertained. There were transit duties on merchandise transported from one part of the country to another. There was a shop-tax, chiefly in towns; and, in parts of the country where the Muhammadans had a confirmed and safe ascendency, the *jiziya* or poll-tax was levied on all who were not Musalmans.'

Bābur was, with all his virtues, a Musalman Emperor.[1] When he had killed the Pagans (as he called the Hindus) he piled up a pyramid of their skulls, at least for the delectation of his orthodox followers. He considered the war against the Rājputs as *jīhād* or 'holy war' and assumed the title of *Ghāzī*, after his victory at Khānua. He spoke of the self-immolation of the Rājputs at Chānderī as '*going to hell.*' When he remitted the *tamgha* after his penitence and vow to renounce wine, it was only Musalmans who were exempted from it, and not the Hindus. After the fall of Chānderī, as Ferishta tells us, he 'did not fail to rebuild and repair the mosques in Chānderī, Sārangpūr, Rantambhor and Rāisen, which had been partly destroyed and otherwise injured by being converted into cattle-sheds, by Medini Rāi's orders.' Bābur himself stated on his conquest of Chānderī, that he converted 'the mansion of hostility' into 'a mansion of faith.' All these facts make it difficult to accept the too liberal policy outlined in the Bhopāl MS.,[2] ascribed to Bābur.

1. Cf. "Bābur and the Hindus" by S. K. Banerji in the *Journal of the U. P. Hist. Socy.* IX, pt. II. 1936.

2. It reads :

'O my son ! People of diverse religions inhabit India, and it is a matter of thanks-giving to God that the King of kings has entrusted the government of this country to you.

It therefore behoves you that :—

(i) You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to religious susceptibilities and religious customs of all sections of the people.

(ii) In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India ; thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

(iii) You should never destroy places of worship of any community and always be justice-loving so that relations between the King and his subjects may remain cordial and thereby secure peace and contentment in the land.

(iv) The propagation of Islām will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

But to say this is not to allege the contrary. Bābur was beyond question a man of deep faith in God ; but his belief in Islām must have sat comparatively light on his mind. He had abjured his orthodoxy and become a Shia to win the support of the Shāh of Persia to his cause.[1] At the same time, he had refused to persecute his quandom orthodox co-religionists at the command of his newly accepted suzerain. There is no evidence of his ever having destroyed a Hindu temple or otherwise persecuted the Hindus on account of their religion. On the other hand, there is at least one reference to his equal recognition of the Hindu and Turkī *Amīrs* who had enlisted in his service.

'On Thursday, the 19th *Shaban,* I called the *Amīrs*', he writes, 'both *Turkī and Hindu,* to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river'. This was during his last campaign, in Bengal (1529).

At least six Hindu Rājās, and among them Rājā Bikramajit of Rantambhor (second son of Rāṇā Sanga), accepted Bābur's sway and paid their tribute.[2]

To conclude : "Unfortunately Bābur, being no administrative genius, but a plain warrior with statesmanlike instincts,

(v) Always ignore the mutual dissensions of Shias and Sunnīs ; otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islām.

(vi) Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year, so that the body politic may remain free from disease.'

This is a translation by Dr. Syed Mahmūd, of a document in the Bhopāl State Library supposed to be Bābur's confidential will and testament to his son Humāyūn. (*The Indian Review,* Aug. 1923.) For the text and a more recent version of the same see *The Twentieth Century* for January 1936, pp. 339-44.

1. Sir Denison Ross, while characterising Bābur as a 'rigid Sunnī,' also appreciates his 'moral courage' in adopting the Qizilbāsh head-dress in this connexion, though from a 'purely political' motive. See C. H. I., IV, p. 19.

2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 262, 281. Cf. S. M. Edwardes, *Bābur : Diarist and Depot,* pp. 40-41.

found it necessary to carry on the administrative plan which he found already in existence, namely, that of parcelling the dominions among his officers, with the understanding that each was responsible for the good order of the districts under his control. The consequences of this plan had always been the same : the monarchy, having erected an artificial barrier between itself and the local administration, lost little by little all its authority, until last of all its prestige departed, and the throne became the prey for contending factions. The great *Amīrs* on the other hand, gained what the crown lost. During the reign of Bābur this does not become apparent, partly because he was invested with the prestige of a conqueror : partly because the time was too short for the consequences of his policy to make themselves felt. Even before he died, however, the symptoms of radical unsoundness in the administration are not far to seek. The old haphazard financial system entirely failed to provide means for the up-keep of the professional soldiers, like the gunners and matchlockmen, who were paid directly from the royal revenue. Having distributed with lavish generosity the royal hoards in Delhi and Āgrā, Bābur suddenly found himself with an empty treasury.[1] For the moment the deficit was met by a levy of 30 per cent on the revenues of all great officers. But in the time of Humāyūn there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dethronement of a dynasty." [2]

1. 'By this time,' Bābur wrote in Oct. 1528, 'the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrāhīm in Delhi and Āgrā was at an end.' See S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 6.

2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

BĀBUR'S FAMILY

(1) *Māham* x BĀBUR x *Gulruk* (2) x *Dilbar* (3)

HUMĀYŪN Kāmrān, Askarī Hindāl, *Gulbadan*, etc.

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY : (i) *Humāyūn-Nāmā* of Humāyūn's sister, Gulbadan Begam, has already been noticed. She wrote this between 1580 and 1590 A.D. at Akbar's instance. Prof. Qanungo writes, "I have found this book very useful, especially as regards dates and events of Humāyūn's life. She is generally trustworthy with the exception of a few cases. The foot-notes given by Mrs. Beveridge here as well as in the translation of Bābur's *Memoirs* should not be as readily accepted as her translation of the text."

(ii) *Humāyūn-Nāmā* of Khwāndamīr, also called *Kānūn-i-Humāyūnī*. The author was intimately acquainted with Humāyūn, and died in Gujarāt in 1534-5 during Humāyūn's campaign there. It gives some "curious accounts of the regulations established by Humāyūn in the early part of his reign." The writer received from the Emperor the title of *Amīr-i-Akhbār* or 'the noble historian.'

(iii) *Tazkirat-ul-Wākiāt* of Jauhar, Humāyūn's personal attendant, who wrote his reminiscences 30 years later, in Akbar's reign. Prof. Qanungo considers this work "a highly authoritative history of the reign of Humāyūn, and having greater weight than that of Gulbadan even"—at least up to Humāyūn's departure from Thatta to Kandahār. The work deals with the rest of his career as well. Jauhar's own preface is worth quotation :

> 'I was at all times, and in all stations, in constant attendance on the royal person ; it therefore occurred to me as desirable that I should write a narrative of all the

events to which I had been an eye-witness, that it may remain as a record of the past interesting occurrences. I have endeavoured to explain them to the best of my humble ability, although in a style very inferior to the dignity of the subject. I commenced this work in the year 995 (A. D. 1587) and have named it the *Tazkirat-ul-Wākiāt*, or Relation of Occurrences.'

"The Memoirs bear all the appearance of truth and honesty, and are to a great degree exempt from that exaggeration and fulsome eulogy to which Oriental biographers are prone." (Dowson)

(iv) *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Haidar, already noticed, is also valuable for its intimate studies of Humāyūn. Mīrzā Haidar wrote his work relating to Humāyūn in 1541-42 A.D. He was personally present at the battle of the Ganges (Bilgrām or Kanauj), when Humāyūn fought against Sher Shāh. After this disastrous rout at Kanauj, he endeavoured to induce Humāyūn to secure a refuge in Kashmīr.

(v) *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmu-dīn Ahmad is a very voluminous work. The chapter on Humāyūn is the most valuable for us here. "His style has a simple elegance, natural flow and charm of its own unrivalled for many generations." Nizāmu-d dīn was *bakshī* under Akbar and his father had served under Humāyūn. The incentive for writing it was that he had 'from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation.'

Dowson observes : "This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognised by all contemporary historians as a standard history ; subsequent writers also have held it in

the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely.... Ferishtā states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete."

B. SECONDARY: Erskine, '*History of India under the two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimūr, Bābur and Humāyūn,*' Vol. II.

Dr. S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh,* (Oxford U. Press, 1938). This contains a good bibliography on Humāyūn at the end.

NOTE—For other works bearing on the life of Humāyūn, see Authorities on Sher Shāh.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION

'The world is his who exerts himself.'
'Fail not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency : indolence and ease agree ill with kingship.'

BĀBUR TO HUMĀYŪN.

The Empire whose foundation was so laboriously laid by Bābur was nevertheless precarious and unstable in character. The strength and security of an arch depends upon its keystone ; in the present case it was too weak to hold on steadily for long. The story of Humāyūn's loss and re-acquisition of his heritage are not less fascinating than the adventures of his father. They are also instructive as showing the vital dependence of the Empire on the personal character of the monarch.

Humāyūn's life divides itself into four clear periods : (I) Early Life, up to his Accession (1508-30) ; (II) Struggles to maintain his Inheritance (1530-40) ; (III) Fifteen Years of Exile (1540-1555) ; and (IV) Restoration and Death (1555-56).

I. EARLY LIFE (1508-30)

(1) Birth and Accession.

Humāyūn was born on *Zaikada* 4, 913 *Hijra* (March 6, 1508) in the citadel of Kābul.

He mounted the throne, at Āgrā, on First *Jamadi* 9, 937 *Hijra* (December 30, 1530) at the age of twenty-three,—four days after the death of Bābur.

Khwāndamīr writes : 'The hand of the kindness of the Creator of Souls and Substances put the happy robe of royalty on the person of this able monarch, the Conqueror of the World. On Friday, the 9th of the said month, in the *Jāmī Masjīd* at Āgrā the *khutbā* was read in the name and title of this noble

King, and the noise of congratulations which arose from the crowd of the people reached beyond the heavens.'[1]

The *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* records: 'On the death of the Emperor Bābur, Prince Humāyūn, who arrived from Sambhal, ascended the throne at Āgrā, *with the support of Amīr Nizāmu-d dīn Ālī Khalīfā, on the* 9th *Jumada-l-awwal,* 937 H. The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and officers were treated with great kindness. The *mansabs* and offices which were held under the last sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and contented.'[2]

(2) Apprenticeship.

(*a*) On the death of his cousin, Khān Mīrzā, in 1520, Humāyūn, at the age of twelve, was appointed to the government of Badakhshān. Bābur himself visited the province, together with Humāyūn's mother to install the young Prince in his first charge.

(*b*) When Bābur invaded India, in 1525, Humāyūn joined him with a contingent from Badakhshān.

(*c*) In this campaign, too, Humāyūn won his maiden victory over a force from Hissār-Fīroza, which was on its way to join Ibrāhīm Lodī (1526).[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 118.

2. Ālī Khalīfā had favoured Madhī Khwājā's succession ; for the circumstances under which he apparently changed his mind see E. & D., loc cit., V, pp. 187-88. Note also on the same page the discrepancies in the computation of dates in terms of the Christian era. The complacency of the nobles referred to here must have been only skin deep in the case of several of them.

3. In a foot-note to Bābur's *Memoirs*, Humāyūn notes that on March 6, 1526 he was at Shāhābād, on the left bank of the Sarsūtī, on his way to Pānīpat, and this same day the razor or scissors were first applied to his beard. 'As my honoured father mentioned in the commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muhammad Humāyūn am transcribing a copy of these *Memoirs* from the copy in his late Majesty's own hand-writing.'—(Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 40 n.)

(*d*) After Pānīpat, Humāyūn, who had played his part well, received a great diamond and gifts worth 7,000,000 *dāms* (about £20,000).

(*e*) Humāyūn also, after this, led the army against the Afghān insurgents in the east, and captured Sambhal, Jaunpūr, Ghāzīpūr, and Kālpī.

(*f*) At the battle of Khānua (1527) Humāyūn led the right wing of the Mughal army and was well rewarded.[1]

(*g*) In 1528, when he was back in Badakhshān, Bābur wrote to him (Nov. 13) to advance with the support of his brothers to 'Hisār, Samarkand, or Merv, as may be most available ...... This is the time for you to court danger and hardship, and show your valour in arms. Fail not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency ; indolence and ease agree ill with kingship.' He also tendered him much good advice in the same letter, urging Humāyūn, among other things, 'to act handsomely by his brother Kāmrān ; not to complain of loneliness in Badakhshān, as it was unworthy of a prince ; to consult his *Bégs* and ministers, particularly Khwājā Kalān ; to avoid private parties ; but to call the court to public levees twice daily ; and above all to keep up the strength and discipline of the army.'[2]

(3) Return to India.

In spite of all this care and anxiety on the part of Bābur, Humāyūn precipitately returned to India in 1529. Bābur thus enthusiastically describes the advent of his son : 'I was just talking with his mother about him when he came. His presence opened our hearts like rosebuds, and made our eyes shine like torches. It was my rule to keep open table every day, but on this occasion, I gave feasts in his honour, and showed him every kind of distinction. We lived together for some time in the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had

1. With Alwar (Mewāt), Hasan Khān Mewātī's possession.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 197.

an inexpressible charm, and he realised absolutely the ideal of perfect manhood.'[1] But why did Humāyūn desert his charge?

(4) Abortive Conspiracy.

The reasons were three: (i) His own failure against the Uzbegs who were making fresh incursions; (ii) Bāburs failing health, and his call to Hindāl from Kābul to be by his side; and (iii) *the conspiracy at Āgrā to supersede Humāyūn.*

This last was in favour of Mīr Muhammad Mahdī Khwājā who was Bābur's brother-in-law (sister's husband), and who had been in charge of the left wing of the Mughal army at the battle of Khānua, where Humāyūn led the right wing. The origin and details of this intrigue are of little value to us, since it proved abortive. But, as Rushbrooke Williams observes, "that the scheme should have been considered feasible at all is eloquent testimony of Bābur's feebleness in body and mind."[2] He also contradicts Mīrzā Haidar's statement that Bābur had recalled Humāyūn, for which he gives the following reasons:—(i) The appearance of Humāyūn at Āgrā surprised everyone at Āgrā; (ii) Bābur was expecting Hindāl, and would never have recalled both sons at the same time; (iii) no successor had been settled upon to occupy the governorship of Badakhshān; (iv) Humāyūn was asked by his father to return to his charge.[3]

Humāyūn had met Kāmrān and Hindāl at Kābul; and they had agreed that, in view of the grave conspiracy which was afoot at Āgrā, Humāyūn should hasten to the capital and Hindāl should take his place in Badakhshān. Ultimately, Bābur sent Suleimān Mīrzā to that distant province.

The rest of the story has already been told. The conspiracy being nipped in the bud, Humāyūn spent some time

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 198.
2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 171.
3. Ibid, p. 172 n. 2. Cf. S. K. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 8-12. The circumstances that attended Humāyūn's succession have been well discussed by Dr. Banerji in Ch. II of his book. The date of Humāyūn's accession, viz. 30 Dec. 1530 (i.e. four days after Bābur's death) is also accounted for by him.

on his estate in Sambhal. Then followed his illness and Bābur's affectionate sacrifice on Monday 26, 1530. Before this happened Bābur had commended Humāyūn to his nobles in unmistakable terms : "Now when I am laid low by illness, I charge you to acknowledge Humāyūn as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humāyūn will also bear himself well towards men."

But, no sooner was Bābur's breath stilled in death, or, to use Khwāndamīr's phrase, 'left the throne of this world for the eternal heaven,' than Humāyūn's troubles began.

II. STRUGGLES TO MAINTAIN HIS INHERITANCE (1530-40)

Political Situation.

Bābur had bequeathed to Humāyūn "a congeries of territories, uncemented by any bond of union or of common interest, except that which had been embodied in his life. In a word, when he died, the Mughal dynasty like the Muhammadan dynasties which had preceded it, had sent down no roots into the soil of Hindūstān."[1] Bābur had not annexed Bengal to the east, nor the great provinces of Mālwā and Gujarāt, now united under one king (Bahādur Shāh), to the south. The many chiefs of Rājputāna were cowed but not subdued, and in most of the outlying parts of the kingdom the Mughal power was but slightly recognised.[2]

(*a*) AFGHĀNS

Numerous Afghān officers still held powerful fiefs, and these men had not forgotten that the kings of Delhi had been Afghāns but a few years before. When a member of the deposed dynasty (Sultān Mahmūd Lodī) appeared amongst them in Bihār, there were all the materials for a formidable insurrection. Thus, even in his inherited dominions—about an

1. Mallison, *Akbar*, p. 49.
2. For a more detailed appreciation of the situation read S. K. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 29-34.

eighth part of all India—Humāyūn was not secure from rivals and revolts.[1]

The principal rallying centres for these Afghāns who were all 'ripe for revolt,' were

(i) *Mahmūd Lodī* : the brother of Ibrāhīm, whom Bābur had driven away but not crushed. He was supported by the old heads of the Afghān nobility, Biban and Bāyazīd, who though lately driven into the recesses of the eastern provinces and of Bihār, were only waiting for a fit opportunity to return and re-occupy the kingdom from which they had been expelled. The King of Bengal, who had married a sister of Mahmūd Lodī, also supported him.

(ii) *Sher Khān Sūr*, who was 'the most capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious man in the whole Afghān party,' had joined the rebels even during the last days of Bābur, although the latter had 'bestowed on him many marks of favour, and given him several *parganas* and put him in command in the east.' He looked upon the Mughals with great contempt as indicated by his following statement :—

'If fortune favours me, I can drive these Mughals back out of Hindūstān ; they are not our superiors in war, but we let slip the power that we had by reason of our dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughals, I have observed their conduct and found them lacking in order and discipline ; while those who profess to lead them, in the pride of birth and rank, neglect the duty of supervision, and leave everything to officials whom they blindly trust. These subordinates act corruptly in every case ..... they are led by lust of gain, and make no distinction between soldier and civilian, foe or friend.'[2]

Fair or otherwise, this estimate only serves to reveal the ambition and attitude of Sher Khān, who was soon to drive Humāyūn into exile and occupy his throne.

(iii) *Ālam Khān* or Alāu-d dīn Lodī, the uncle of Ibrāhīm, was one of those that invited Bābur to India, fought

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediæval India*, pp. 219-20.
2. Keene, op. cit., p. 95.

against his nephew at Pānīpat. He had later fallen into disgrace and was confined in a fort in Badakhshān. Since the death of Bābur, Alāu-d dīn had effected his escape, and sought refuge with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.

"Without any open declaration of war with Humāyūn, Bahādur Shāh liberally supplied Alāu-d dīn with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Āgrā, under his son Tātār Khān. This army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dispersed ; and Tātār Khān fell in battle, at the head of a division which remained faithful in the desertion."[1]

The career of Bahādur Shāh, up to the death of Bābur, has already been described in detail in the first chapter. He gave shelter not merely to Alāu-d dīn Lodī, but also to another of Humāyūn's rivals, presently to be noticed. Briefly, besides the prestige and power he had acquired over his southern neighbours, Bahādur Shāh, who was ruler of Gujarāt and Mālwā, "was actively pressing his triumphs over the Rājputs and rapidly approaching within striking distance of Āgrā."[2]

(*b*) COUSINS AND BROTHERS

Besides the Afghāns, Humāyūn had rivals and enemies nearer home.

(i) *Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā* was the grandson of Sultān Husain of Herāt, and had married his cousin Ma'Suma, a step-sister of Humāyūn. He had shown himself a capable general in Bābur's campaigns.

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 442.

2. "He earnestly wished for some political trouble to entangle the Emperor in the eastern provinces, so that his attention and energy might be diverted to that quarter, and Bahādur might thus be given a free hand to deal with the Rājputs. He scanned the eastern horizon of Hindūstān and saw the clouds gathering in South Bihār which boded ill to the Mughal Empire. He thought of subsidising Sher Khān and making use of his rising power to keep the Emperor busy in that quarter." (Qanungo, *Sher Shāh*, p. 109)

(ii) *Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā* was also a descendant of Tīmūr and grandson of the late Sultān of Khorāsān by a daughter. From his royal birth and station, he too was considered worthy to aspire to the throne.

(iii) *Mīr Muhammad Mahdī Khwājā,* a brother-in-law,[1] of Bābur, the abortive conspiracy in whose favour has already been noticed. Bābur's prime-minister and life-long friend Khalīfā[2] was interested in him. He was in command of a division of the army, and belonged to the nobility of religion. At Khānua, as we have seen, he was put in charge of the left wing, as Humāyūn led the right wing. So with the army he had enjoyed equality of status with the present Emperor.

(iv) *Kāmrān Mīrzā* was the most dangerous of all Humāyūn's brothers. He was in charge of Kābul and Kandahār at the time of Bābur's death. Bābur, as we have noticed, had commanded Humāyūn 'to act handsomely by his brother Kāmrān.' Askarī and Hindāl were the other two brothers of Humāyūn. Elphinstone remarks, "From his having assigned no shares to his younger children, it is probable that Bābur did not intend

1. "He was the husband of Bābur's full sister, Khānzāda Begam." (Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 170.) Both Ahmad Yādgār and Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad however, (in the passage cited in n. 2 below) speak of him as Bābur's *son-in-law*. (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 36). Both Gulbadan Begam and Khwāndamīr describe him as *brother-in-law*. See S. K. Banerji, op. cit., p. 24.

2. His full name was 'Amīr Nizāmu-d dīn Ālī Khalīfā.' The *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* states :—Amīr Nizāmu-d dīn Ālī Khalīfā was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldly business, he had a dread and suspicion of the young prince Humāyūn and was unfriendly to his succession. And if he was not friendly with the eldest son, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. *Mahdī Khwājā* was son-in-law (?) of the late Emperor, and was a generous and liberal young man. He was very friendly with Mīr Khalīfā, who had promised to raise him to the throne. This fact became generally known, and several of the nobles took part with Mahdī Khwājā. He also fell in with the idea, and began to assume kingly airs. (E. & D., loc. cit.).

to divide the Empire ; but Kāmrān showed no disposition to give way to his brother ; and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great advantage over Humāyūn, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his new and disaffected provinces."[1] "Ever weak and shifty," says Lane-Poole, "Askarī and Hindāl were dangerous only as tools for ambitious men to play upon."[2]

(c) MILITARY WEAKNESS OF HUMĀYŪN

Surrounded as Humāyūn was with astute and powerful enemies on every side, what was most necessary in him was 'a firm grasp of the military situation and resolution to meet it'. Both these qualities, Humāyūn lamentably lacked. "It was a situation that called for boundless energy and soldierly genius."[3] On the north-west was Kāmrān, 'a surly ill-conditioned traitor, unworthy of Bābur's seed,' and the most formidable of Humāyūn's brothers. On the east were the Afghāns under Mahmūd Lodī and Sher Khān. On the south was Bahādur Shāh, supporting the pretenders.

'The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghatai, Uzbek, Mughal, Persian, Afghān, and Indian. Even the Chaghatai chiefs, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favour, were not perfectly unanimous. Though attached to the family of Bābur, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Tīmūr, yet no eminent chief or head of a tribe considered the crown itself as beyond the range of his ambition. It was the age of revolution ; and the kingdoms on every side,—Persia, Samarkand, Bokhāra, Hisār, Balkh and Hindūstān itself,—saw the throne occupied by adventurers, or the immediate descendants of adventurers, not more

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 441.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 222.
3. Ibid. p. 219.

distinguished than themselves .... Under such circumstances, a thousand unforeseen accidents might occur to blow the smouldering embers of intrigue and faction into a flame.'[1]

At such a crisis, the personal character of the prince was a matter of great importance. But Humāyūn, though he possessed all the humaner virtues of his great father, lamentably lacked "the decision and spirit of command, without which no prince can secure the respect and confidence of his subjects." He was too gentle and good to be successful in such an age and under such circumstances; his failure was in no small measure due to his "beautiful but unwise clemency. Instead of taking a statesmanlike view of the situation, meeting the most pressing danger first, and crushing one antagonist before he engaged another, he frittered away his army in divided commands, and deprived it of its full strength; he left one enemy unsubdued behind him while he turned to meet another; and when victory by chance rewarded his courage, rather than his tactics, he resposed upon his laurels and made merry with his friends while his foes used the precious time in gathering their forces for a fresh effort ...... Humāyūn's troops were still the men who had won Delhi and defeated Rāṇā Sanga, and Bābur's generals were still in command of their divisions. But Humāyūn weakened their valour and destroyed their confidence by division and vacillation, neglected the counsels of the commanders, and displayed such indecision that it is a marvel that any army still adhered to his falling fortunes."[2]

Division of the Empire.

On the day of Humāyūn's accession, Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad writes, 'Mīrzā Hindāl arrived from Badakhshān and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures (*do Khazāna*) of former kings. The territories were then divided: (i) Mīrzā Hindāl received the district of Mewāt (Alwar) in *jāgīr*; (ii) the Punjāb, Kābul, and

1. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 2-4.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 222.

Kandahār were settled as the *jāgīr* of Mīrzā Kāmrān;[1] (iii) Sambhal was given to Mīrzā Askarī; (iv) every one of the *Amīrs* also received an increase of his *jāgīr*.' (v) According to the *Akbar-Nāma*, Mīrzā Suleimān was confirmed in Badakhshān...

Note—The great blunder in this distribution was in leaving the perfidious Kāmrān in charge of the most vital part of Bābur's dominions. By this cession Humāyūn was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been also retained. "It was a mistake on Humāyūn's part," writes Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghān hills. Kāmrān could henceforward, as Prof. Rushbrooke Williams observes, cut the tap-root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cession of Hissār-Fīrōza was a blunder, for it gave Kāmrān command of the new military road which ran from Delhi to Khandahār."[2]

III. EARLY EXCURSIONS

(i) 'After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty, proceeded to Kālinjar, the Rājā of which place expressed his

1. At first he had been confirmed in his possession of Kābul and Kandahār alone. But Kāmrān not being satisfied, left Kandahār in the possession of Askarī, and marched for Hindūstān. Humāyūn then added Peshāwar and Lamghan to his grant. "But Kāmrān's views were too extensive to be satisfied even with that concession." He soon marched up to and occupied Lāhore as well. Humāyūn, surrounded as he was with great difficulties, confirmed him in his new acquisition. A *farmān* was accordingly issued, bestowing on Kāmrān the government of Kābul, Kandahār, and the Punjāb; "a grant which exalted that prince to the possession of dominions and power nearly equal to his own." Kāmrān, who had a turn for poetry, flattered Humāyūn with a few odes and wheedled out of him the rich province of Hissār-Fīrōza as well. This was an important grant, and most welcome to Kāmrān, as it lay nearly on the high-road between his possessions in the Punjāb and Delhi.

2. Ishwari Prasad, op. cit., p. 326; Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 441.

fealty, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne.[1]

(ii) 'In those days, Sultān Mahmūd (son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī), with the assistance of Biban, Bāyazīd, and the Afghān nobles, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jaunpūr and its dependencies. Humāyūn now marched to subdue him, and having achieved success,[2] he returned victorious to Āgrā. There he held a great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said that 12,000 persons received robes at that feast, and 2,000 of them were presented with outer-garments of gold brocade and gilt buttons.'

Note—Though such pomp was not unknown to Bābur,[3]

1. According to Badāunī, the fort was captured after a siege lasting for a month.—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 189, n 3). The date assigned is May-June, 1531.—(Erskine, op. cit., II, p. 9). See S. K. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 34-36.

2. Sultān Mahumūd Lodī and his Afghān supporters were defeated at Dauroh on the river Gumti, about 48 miles north of Jaunpūr. Abbās Khān mentions the place as Lucknow ; Dauroh is mentioned by Jauhar. The following two extracts from these writers give the details :—

'His Majesty (Humāyūn),' writes Jauhar, 'after successive marches, reached Dauroh on the river Mati, when the above-mentioned rebels, with a large army, came towards that place ; the rebels were defeated......Biban, Bāyazīd, and all the chiefs and refractory ones were slain.' (cited by Qanungo, op. cit, p. 72.)

'The two armies,' says Abbās Khān, 'met near Lucknow....As Miān Bāyazīd had drunk more wine than he could bear, and had got drunk and careless, he also was slain in that battle. Sultān Mahmūd and other chiefs, being defeated, fled to the kingdom of Bihār. The Sultān had neither money nor territory to entertain a force of his own, and his nobles who had placed him on the throne were most of them killed in the battle at Lucknow, while the few who remained, were from their quarrels dispersed. Sultān Mahmūd was greatly given to dancing-women, and passed most of his time in amusing himself, and as he had no power to oppose the Mughals, he abdicated his royalty, and settled himself in the province of Patna, and never again attempted the throne.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 350.

3. E.g. 'In the third year, His Majesty (Bābur) proceeded towards Lāhore. At Sirhind he was met by the Rājā of Kahlur, who

Humāyūn's already depleted treasury could ill-afford such extravagance at this moment of crisis, when he had to fight enemies on all sides. "In the time of Humāyūn," says Rushbrooke Williams, "there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dethronement of a dynasty."[1] Humāyūn's lavishness on this occasion was typical of his general extravagance.

(iii) 'At this time Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā,...who had originally come from Balkh to seek refuge with His late Majesty, now set himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the fort of Bayāna, and placed in the custody of Yādgār Taghai. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yādgār Bég saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of

presented him seven falcons, and three *mans* of gold, and was confirmed in the *zamīndārī* of that place. When the King's camp reached Lāhore, Mīrzā Kāmrān was honoured to the presence, and he brought the *zamīndārs* of the country to kiss the feet of the conqueror of the world. The King's encampment was located in the environs of Lāhore, and the royal tents were pitched in the garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān, who gave a magnificent banquet, which lasted three days. At its conclusion, the King left the garden and took his abode in the fort. The whole road thither, from the garden to the gate of the city, was lined by the servants of Shāhzāda Kāmrān, dressed in silks and brocade, decked like bridegrooms ; and the troops, with their gay red and yellow flags, resembling the early spring. Elephants adorned with gilded trappings, covered with jewels, were led in front of the royal cortege. When they entered the city gates, money was thrown to the poor and destitute, and a grand entertainment was given in the palace of Sikandar Lodī. The King was pleased with the sights and hunting which the Punjāb afforded, and he therefore remained there for the space of a year, during which Mīrzā Hindāl came from Kābul. He was admitted to the presence and treated with marked distinction. When the cold season was over, Mīrzā Hindāl returned to Kābul, and at the time of his departure he received, as a present from His Majesty, two elephants, four horses, girdles, and jewelled daggers.'—Ahmad Yādgār, E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 40.

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 162.

the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt.

(iv) 'About the same time Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, went off to Kanauj, and there raised a rebellion.'

The Gujarāt Campaign.

(i) 'His Majesty sent a person with letters to Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt demanding the surrender of Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, to which he returned a haughty refusal, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance.[1] This excited the anger of the Emperor, and he resolved to march against Gujarāt and chastise Sultān Bahādur. He proceeded to Gwālior and there passed two months in making excursions and hunting' (1532).

(ii) When Humāyūn finally marched against Bahādur Shāh, that prince was busy with the siege of Chitor[2] (1534). At the approach of the Emperor he held a council of war. Many officers advised the raising of the siege, but Sadr Khān, who was the chief of the nobles, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereign of Musalmans were to attack them while so engaged, he would in effect assist the infidels, and this would remain a reproach against him among Musalmans until the Day of Judgment. He therefore advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them. 'When the Emperor had passed

1. For an account of the nature of the correspondence between Humāyūn and Bahādur Shāh, and other diplomatic relations see Banerji, op. cit., Ch. X, (pp. 99-117).

2. The Rāṇā in his distress dispatched an envoy to ask succour from Humāyūn. Humāyūn, thus invited, moved forward with a considerable army as far as Gwālior, as if to assist the Rāṇā. There he encamped for about two months and asked Bahādur Shāh to desist from his attack on Chitor and give up the traitors he was harbouring. Neither demand was complied with. Humāyūn with some loss of reputation, soon after decamped, compelled to repress disturbances in Jaunpūr and Bihār. The Rāṇā despairing of assistance bought peace of Bahādur Shāh (Erskine, op. cit., pp. 14-15).

through Mālwā and had come to Sārangpūr, he was informed of this ; so he rested there.'

Note—This was Humāyūn's third great blunder. It was a double failing : timely assistance might have won over the Rāṇā as a perpetual ally who might have acted as a bulwark against Gujarāt ; if attacked at once, Bahādur Shāh might perhaps have been crushed at the first blow.

But as it happened, 'Sultān Bahādur carried on the siege of Chitor at his ease, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast, and divided the spoil among his soldiers. Then he turned his front to the Imperial army.'

(iii) Humāyūn then, hearing of this, marched against Bahādur Shāh and met him at Mandasōr. The King of Gujarāt again called a council of war. Sadr Khān advised giving battle, but Rūmī Khān who commanded the artillery, counselled entrenchment so as to give full play to his guns (*top*) and rockets (*tufang*). 'They were very strong in artillery, and except the Emperor of Rūm, no other potentate could equal them. Sultān Bahādur acquiesced in this view, and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.'[1]

For two months Humāyūn did nothing but cut off the supplies of the enemy. Famine ensued in the enemy's camp. 'The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismounted. When Sultān Bahādur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of the pavilion and went towards Māndū with five of his most trusty adherents. . . . . When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight.'

(iv) Humāyūn pursued Bahādur Shāh to Māndū and besieged the fort. 'Sultān Bahādur was asleep when the alarm

1. 'Flushed with the recent victory the Gujarātīs might probably have overwhelmed Humāyūn's army, on which the irritations as well as the revels of the delay had exerted their usual influences ;

was raised. A general panic followed and the Gujarātīs took to flight. Sultān Bahādur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujarāt, and Sadr Khān and Sultān Ālam (Lodī) threw themselves into the fort of Sungar, which is the citadel of Māndū. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khān was placed in confinement and an order was given for cutting off the feet of Ālam Khān.'

(v) 'Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gujarāt. Sultān Bahādur had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Chāmpānīr, and these he carried off to Ahmedābād. (He set fire to the town before leaving Chāmpānīr.) Humāyūn pursued him up to Cambay. On his way he took Ahmadābād, which being plundered yielded enormous spoil.' Bahādur Shāh ultimately escaped to the island of Diu.[1]

Note—Humāyūn, instead of following up his success and finishing with the fugitive, marched to Chāmpānīr. This was his fourth blunder.

(vi) Chāmpānīr[2] was no doubt taken (1535-6), Humāyūn himself with Bairam Khān scaling the fort at night its

but the triumph of the heavy artillery in the siege of Chitor had given undue weight to the advice of the Ottoman engineer, the 'Rūmī Khān,' who had worked the guns with the help of the Portuguese and other European gunners; and, as with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevestopol, the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders'. (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 224).

1. July 1535. The same day on which he left Cambay, Humāyūn arrived, and 'encamped on the shore of the salt sea' which none of his ancestors had ever seen.

2. *Chāmpānīr* : This important fortress occupies the upper part of a hill that arises towering out of the level plain, in the south-east portion of Gujarāt and is visible over a great part of that province. The fortress is surrounded on several of its sides by steep and nearly perpendicular rocks which have gained for it the reputation of being impregnable to active operation. It had an upper and a lower fort, the one rising above the other; while the extensive, and at the same time magnificent town of Muhammadābād—Chāmpānīr extend-

most abrupt side, with the help of steel spikes driven into the scarp of the rock. 'Great numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed.' Ikhtiyār Khān who held a high position among the Gujarātīs, was kindly received by the Emperor, who 'made him one of his personal attendants.' He was a man of great knowledge and experience, and had a great reputation as a statesman, an accomplished geometrician and astronomer. He was also of some repute as a poet. When the fort was taken, the place where Bahādur Shāh had hidden his treasure was known only to one officer. Humāyūn instead of getting the secret out of him by torture, preferred to make use of wine : the man was invited to an entertainment ; and 'when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good cheer,' he revealed the secret. The treasure was found in a vault under the bed of a reservoir.[1]

'The gold was divided among the soldiers,—so much a head. The goods and stuffs of Rūm, Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the kings of Gujarāt had treasured, all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no person attempted to collect revenue that year in Gujarāt.'[2]

(vii) After this, there was a slight rally at Ahmadābād, in favour of Bahādur Shāh. But Mīrzā Askarī who was at Muhammadābād won over them an easy victory. 'More than two thousand men were killed in the battle.'[3]

ed on one side along its base. Humāyūn invested it vainly for four months but finally took it in the manner described.

'The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness and success of the enterprise by which its capture was achieved,' says Ferishta, 'render this action equal, in the opinion of military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history.'—(Briggs, II, p. 79).

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 443 n.
2. Cf. Ferishta ; Briggs, II, p. 80.
3. The author of this work (*Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*) heard from his father who was then wazīr of Mīrzā Askarī, that at midday, when

(viii) After this, the Emperor bestowed Ahmadābād and its dependencies upon Mīrzā Askarī in *jāgīr*, Pātan upon Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir, and Broach upon Mīrzā Hindū Bég. Tardī Bég received Chāmpānīr, and Kāsim Hussain obtained Baroda. Khān Jahān Shirāzī and other nobles also received grants. The Emperor proceeded after these successes to Burhānpūr, and from thence to Māndū.[1]

"Mālwā and Gujarāt—two provinces equal in area to all the rest of Humāyūn's kingdom—had fallen like ripe fruit into his hands. Never was conquest so easy. Never, too, was conquest more recklessly squandered away." [2]

Note—This was Humāyūn's fifth great blunder in this direction. Instead of ensuring the settled government of the conquered provinces he was content to assign its various parts to governors whose loyalty had not been tested, and hastened to devote himself to pleasures. 'The Emperor Humāyūn,' says Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, 'remained for a year at Āgrā and took his pleasure.'[3]

(ix) Meanwhile, both Gujarāt and Mālwā were rapidly lost[4] (1535-36).

it was intensely hot, the Gujarātīs came hastily out of Ahmadābād ....Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir and Mīrzā Hindū Bég came up in due order, with their forces, and the Gujarātīs took to flight.'—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 196).

1. Ferishta adds : " In this state of affairs, Buhrān Nizām Shāh, Imād Shāh, and the other sovereigns of the Deccan, apprehensive of his designs, wrote submissive letters, tendering their allegiance. Humāyūn had scarcely obtained their flattering tokens of his success, when accounts arrived of the insurrection created in the north by Sher Khān."—(Briggs, II, pp. 80-1).

2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 225.

3. 'On the return of Humāyūn to his capital, it was observed that he gave way more than ever to the excessive use of opium : public business was neglected ; and the governors of the surrounding districts taking advantage of the state of affairs, promoted their own aggrandisement.' (Briggs, II, p. 83).

4. " One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces ; the next saw them as quickly lost." (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 226).

'One night Mīrzā Askarī in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue, exclaimed, "I am a King, and the shadow of God." Just at this period Hindū Bég had counselled Mīrzā Askarī to have the *khutbā* recited and coin struck in his name, and set up his claim to independence, expecting that the troops in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service. Mīrzā Askarī did not accept this advice; but Tardī Bég.......sent a messenger to Humāyūn, to inform him that Mīrzā Askarī had hostile intentions, and was about to march upon Āgrā and proclaim himself King.'

Ahmadābād and other places revolted in favour of Bahādur Shāh, who soon returned from Diu with Portuguese aid, and recovered all his lost dominions.[1] 'Mīrzā Askarī and the *Amīrs* mounted and made a show of fighting, and then retired....But before Mīrzā Askarī retreated from Ahmadābād, the news-writers and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the proposition which Mīrzā Hindū Bég had made to the Mīrzā for his assuming the crown, and although he had not assented thereto, they reported that he entered into hostile designs' (1535-36).

Humāyūn left Māndū, and reached Āgrā before Askarī. Although not received, he considered it prudent to take no notice of reports. Thus the countries of Mālwā and Gujarāt, 'the conquest of which had been obtained by the exertions of so fine an army, were now abandoned without a struggle.'[2]

Note—This 'beautiful but unwise clemency' towards his brothers was to prove Humāyūn's ruin.

1. Nuno d'Cuna, the Portuguese Viceroy, offered Bahādur Shāh a force of 500 Europeans in return for allowing them to fortify Diu and important trade concessions. Later Bahādur Shāh was invited to a conference by the Portuguese in the course of which he fell into the sea and died in 1537, at the age of 30. But Humāyūn took no advantage of the death of his intrepid enemy which put Gujarāt into disorder.

Dr. Banerji attributes the general revulsion of feelings against Humāyūn in Mālwā and Gujarāt to Humāyūn's indulgence in excessive cruelty. See Banerji, op. cit., pp. 135-6.

2. Ferishta; Briggs, II, p. 83.

(x) When Sultān Bahādur was defeated, Humāyūn had sent away Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā to Sind, instead of taking better account of him. That pretender laid siege to Lāhore, when, on account of trouble in Kandahār, Kāmrān had left the Punjāb temporarily. When Muhammad Zamān heard of the Emperor's return to Āgrā, he again took refuge in Gujarāt. Kāmrān meanwhile recovered Kandahār from the Persians who had for some time occupied it.[1]

The Fateful Contest with Sher Khān.

Sher Khān has already been mentioned as one of the important leaders of the Afghān revolt against the Mughals. His early life and career will be more fully dealt with in the next chapter. Here only his relations with Humāyūn will be considered.

(i) By the end of 1531 Sher Khān had made himself master of the province of South Bihār, and occupied the important stronghold of Chunār[2] (near Benāres). In that year, Humāyūn, before marching south against Bahādur Shāh, but after the defeat of Mahmūd Lodī at Dauroh, encountered Sher Khān for the first time.[3] The *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī* of Abbās Khān gives the following account of this event :—

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 199.

2. The fort of Chunār stands on a rock close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhya Mountains which extend to the same river near Mīrzāpūr. From that neighbourhood the hills recede westwards, by the fort of Rohtās and Shirghāti, and do not approach the river again, until near Bhagalpūr, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Bihār and Bengal, and shut up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places—one near Chunār and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bhagalpūr. The hills themselves are not high, but poor and covered with woods. "As Humāyūn marched along the Ganges and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chunār."—Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 446.

3. Gulbadan Begam states : 'He (Humāyūn) defeated them (Biban and Bāyazīd) and then went to Chunad (Chunār), took it and thence returned to Āgrā.' This is also confirmed by Jauhar.—(Qanungo, op. cit., p. 73.).

'When Humāyūn had overcome Sultān Mahmūd, and had put the greater number of his opponents to death, he sent Hindū Bég to take Chunār from Sher Khān, but Sher Khān declined to give it up to him. When he heard this, Humāyūn commanded his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Chunār....The army of Humāyūn besieged Chunār....Sher Khān knew that the Emperor would be unable to delay long in those parts, for his spies brought him word that Bahādur Shāh, the King of Gujarāt, had conquered the kingdom of Māndū and was meditating the seizure of Delhi and would shortly declare war.[1] Humāyūn also having received this intelligence, Sher Khān sent his *vakīl* to him and wrote saying, "I am your slave, and the client of Junaid Barlās....As you must entrust the fort of Chunār to some one, make it over to me, and I will send my son Kutb Khān to accompany you in this expedition. Do you lay aside all anxiety as regards these parts; for if either I or any other Afghān do any act unbefitting or disloyal, you have my son with you; inflict on him such reprisals as may be a warning to others."

'When Sher Khān's emissary represented this to the Emperor Humāyūn, he replied, "I will give Chunār to Sher Khān, but on this condition, that he sends Jalāl Khān[2] with me."

'Finally, when Humāyūn heard of Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān's escape from Bayāna, and Bahādur Shāh's intended march on Delhi, he agreed to Sher Khān's proposal. Sher Khān was delighted and sent Kutb Khān, his son, and Isā Khān his chamberlain, to the Emperor, who set off to Āgrā, and employed himself in suppressing the rebellion of Sultān Bahādur.'[3]

(ii) 'Sher Khān took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one enemy of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihār. When the Emperor came back from Gujarāt, the Khān-Khānan Yūsuf-Khail (who brought the Emperor Bābur from Kābul to Hindūstān) said to him: "It is not wise to neglect Sher Khān, for he is rebelliously inclined, and well understands all matters pertaining to government; moreover all the Afghāns are

1. Abu-l Fazl also asserts that Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt sent him (Sher Khān) a subsidy and summoned him to his side. Farīd made capital out of this for sedition and sent excuses for not going.—*Akbar-Nāma*, I, p. 328.

2. Jalāl Khān succeeded Sher Shāh after his death, as Islām Shāh.

3. Kutb Khān escaped from Humāyūn when he was busy in Gujarāt.—Erskine, op. cit., p. 12.

collected round him." The Emperor Humāyūn, relying on the vastness of his forces, and on the pride of Empire, took no heed of Sher Khān, and remaining the rainy season at Āgrā, sent Hindū Bég to Jaunpūr, with directions to write a full and true report regarding Sher Khān.

'When Sher Khān heard that the Emperor Humāyūn, intended himself marching towards Bihār, he sent magnificent presents to Hindū Bég, Governor of Jaunpūr, and gained his good-will. At the same time Sher Khān wrote thus : "From what I promised I have not departed. I have not invaded the Emperor's country. Kindly write to the Emperor, and assuring him of my loyalty, dissuade him from marching in this direction ; for I am his servant and well-wisher." When Hindū Bég beheld Sher Khān's presents, he approved of them and was well pleased, and he said to the *vakīl*, "So long as I live let your mind be easy. No one shall injure you." And in the presence of Sher Khān's *vakīl* wrote a letter to the Emperor Humāyūn saying : "Sher Khān is a loyal servant of Your Majesty, and strikes coin and reads the *khutbā* in your name, and has not transgressed the boundaries of Your Majesty's territory, or done anything since your departure, which could be any cause of annoyance to you." The Emperor on receipt of Hindū Bég's letter, deferred his journey that year.

(iii) 'Sher Khān meanwhile detached Jalāl Khān, Khawās Khān senior, and other chiefs, to conquer Bengal and the city of Gaur. On their entering Bengal, Sultān Mahmūd, unable to oppose them retired to the fort of Gaur. The Afghāns having made themselves masters of the surrounding country, invested and besieged that fortress, before which daily skirmishes took place.

(iv) 'The following year the Emperor marched towards Bihār and Bengal. When he arrived near Chunār,[1] he consulted his

1. The march took place, according to Elphinstone, in *Safar* 944 (July, 1537)—*History of India*, pp. 444-n. 6. "The Memoirs of Humāyūn say that the army reached Chunār on the *Shabi B'arat* (*Shaban* 15th) of A. H. 945, January 1539 ; but this would leave only 6 months for the conquest of Bengal, and all the other operations till Humāyūn's defeat in *Safar* A. H. 946, June 1539. I conclude therefore that the Memoir writer, who scarcely ever gives a date, may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began on 15th *Shaban*, A.H. 944 (January 8th, 1538). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months ; some say 6 months."—(Ibid., p. 436 n.) According to Dr. Banerji, the correct dates were, starting from Āgrā 27 July 1537 A.D., reaching

nobles whether he should first take Chunār, or march towards Gaur, which the son of Sher Khān was besieging, but had not yet taken. All his Mughal nobles advised that he should first take Chunār, and then march on Gaur, and it was so determined; but when Humāyūn asked the Khān-Khānan Yūsuf-Khail for his opinion, he (having previously heard that the Mughal nobles had agreed it was advisable first to take Chunār) said, "It is a counsel of the young to take Chunār first; the counsel of the aged is, as there is much treasure in Gaur, it is advisable to take Gaur first; after that the capture of Chunār is an easy matter. The Emperor replied: "I am young, and prefer the counsel of the young. I will not leave the fort of Chunār in the rear." The author has heard from the Khān-Khānan's companions, that when he returned to his quarters, he observed: "The luck of Sher Khān is great that the Mughals do not go to Gaur. Before they take this fort, the Afghāns will have conquered Gaur, and all its treasures will fall into their hands." When Chunār fell to Humāyūn, Gaur had already fallen to Sher Khān,[1] who also took about the same time the more important fort of Rohtās by stratagem.[2]

He (Sher Khān) thanked God and said: "The fort of Chunār is no fort in comparison with this; as that has gone out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gaur as (I am) at getting possession of Rohtās."

(v) 'After the Emperor had got possession of Chunār, he halted in Benāres, and sent an envoy to Sher Khān, having in view to get possession of the country of Bihār. Sher Khān knew he had this

Chunār Oct. 1537 A.D., siege of Chunār Oct. (1537)—March (1538), (Banerji, op. cit., p. 210).

1. When the fort fell into Sher Khān's hands there was such a mass of treasure in it, that, according to Niamatulla, 'he could not get a sufficient number of porters to carry it, and was at a loss how to convey these effects to Rohtās.' Finally, all the elephants, camels, oxen and all the beasts of burden captured at Ghari, from the Mughals, were utilised for the purpose.—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 112.)

By his wrong choice, Humāyūn committed a great blunder, and walked into the snare that Sher Khān had cleverly laid for him. He had to pay dearly for this initial mistake in strategy. After the fall of Chunār, as was his wont, he indulged in giving a great banquet, and in distributing honours and rewards.—(Jauhar; ibid., p. 140.)

2. For details of this see E. & D. op. cit., IV, pp. 357-462; also Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 455 n. 10.

design, and said to the envoy, "I have captured this fort of Gaur, and have collected about me a very large force of Afghāns. If the Emperor will abandon all design upon Bengal, I will surrender Bihār to him, and make it over to whomsoever he will depute, and will agree to the same boundaries of Bengal as existed in Sultān Sikandar's time; and I will send all the ensigns of royalty—as the umbrella, throne, etc.,—to the Emperor, and will yearly send ten *lacs* of rupees from Bengal. But let the Emperor return towards Āgrā." The Emperor, on hearing about Bihār, became exceedingly glad and agreed to what Sher Khān proposed. . .Sher Khān was much delighted, and said, "I will fulfil the terms agreed upon, and will pray day and night to Almighty God that while life lasts no hostility may befall between the Emperor and myself, for I am his dependant and servant."

(vi) 'Three days after this despatch the envoy of Sultān Mahmūd, the successor of Nusrat Shāh of Bengal, came into the presence of the Emperor Humāyūn, and made the following communication: "The Afghāns have seized the fort of Gaur, but most of the country is yet in my possession; let not Your Majesty trust to Sher Khān's promises, but march towards these parts, and before they have established and strengthened themselves, expel them from the country, and altogether suppress this revolt. I also will join you, and they are not powerful enough to oppose you." As soon as he heard this report of Sultān Mahmūd, the Emperor ordered his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Bengal.'

Jauhar adds,—'The king moved forward with the whole army, and in four days with little difficulty took possession of Gaur, the capital of Bengal, and drove away all the Afghāns. After cleansing and repairing the city, the first act of His Majesty was to divide the province into *jāgīrs* among his officers; after which he very unaccountably shut himself up in his *harem*, and abandoned himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury. While the King had thus for several months given himself up to pleasure and indolence, information was at length conveyed to him that Sher Khān had killed 700 Mughals, had laid siege to the fortress of Chunār, and taken the city of Benāres; and had also sent forward an army along the bank of the Ganges to take Kanauj; that he had further seized the families of several of the officers, and sent them prisoners to Rohtās.'[1]

1. E. &. D., op. cit., V, p. 141. 'When Humāyūn entered Gaur,' says Niamatulla, 'Sher Khān had previously fitted up all the mansions of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments, and rendered them a perfect gallery of pictures, by

(vii) Sher Khān looked upon Humāyūn's conduct as a definite betrayal of his previous engagements with himself. "I have observed all loyalty to the Emperor," he said, "and have committed no offence against him, and have not encroached upon his boundaries.... The Emperor desired the kingdom of Bihār, and I was willing to surrender it. But it is not the right way to govern a kingdom to alienate so large a force (as Sher Khān then possessed) from his service; and in order to please their enemies, to ruin and slay the Afghāns. But since the Emperor takes no heed, and has violated his promise,...you will hear what deeds the Afghāns will do, and the march to Bengal will end in repentance and regret, for now the Afghāns are united, and have laid aside their mutual quarrels and envyings. The country which the Mughals have taken from the Afghāns, they got through the internal dissension among the latter." As Humāyūn did not keep to his word, Sher Khān felt himself free to act as he pleased. Accordingly, he despatched some of his officers to the west to attack the Empire when Humāyūn was away in Bengal. 'They took Benāres and killed the greater part of the Mughal garrison there. Then they proceeded to Bahraich, and drove out the Mughals from those parts, until they arrived at and captured the city of Sambhal, and made slaves of the inhabitants and spoiled the city. Another force was sent towards Jaunpūr, the governor of which place was killed in battle, and the same force was sent in the direction of Āgrā. Every governor on the part of the Emperor Humāyūn, throughout the whole country, who offered any opposition, was killed, or was defeated and driven out of the country; so that all the districts as far as Kanauj and Sambhal fell into the possession of the Afghāns. The officers of Sher

party-coloured carpets and costly silk-stuffs, in the hope that Humāyūn, charmed with it, would be induced to prolong his stay there; and his designs were unexpectedly seconded by fate, for Humāyūn remained four months in Gaur, and had no leisure for any other occupation than pleasure and enjoyment.'—Ibid., pp. 112-3. Ac. to Banerji, Humāyūn's stay in Gaur was from Aug. 1538 to Mar. 1539. Op. cit., p. 227.

Khān also collected the revenue of both the autumn and spring harvests of these parts.'

(viii) Meanwhile, Mīrzā Hindāl who had returned to Āgrā from Humāyūn's camp, raised the standard of revolt at the capital, and murdered Sheikh Bahlōl who was much respected by the Emperor Humāyūn. 'When the Emperor heard of this defection, he left Jahāngīr Bég in charge of Bengal with a reinforcement of 5,000 chosen men, and set off for Āgrā. At this time Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā returned from Gujarāt with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him and did not utter a word of reproach.'[1] Humāyūn, however, was not allowed to escape so easily by Sher Khān.

(ix) The latter, summoning all his forces from Bihār, Jaunpūr, and other places, collected them in the environs of the fort of Rohtās. Thence he marched to confront the Emperor. 'At every stage he entrenched himself with an earthwork, and going on entirely at his leisure, made very short marches. When the Emperor heard that Sher Khān was coming, he retraced his steps, and turned in the direction of Sher Khān's army. But, Sher Khān, on hearing this, wrote to the Emperor saying, that if the Emperor would give him the kingdom of Bengal, and be satisfied that the *khutbā* be read and money struck in the Emperor's name, he would be the Emperor's vassal.' 'These proposals were received with great satisfaction.'[2] 'Then Humāyūn sent Sheikh Khalīl on an embassy to Sher Khān...Sheikh Khalīl, in the presence of the Emperor's men who had accompanied him, debated long and earnestly with Sher Khān and strongly advised the proposed peace; and during the consultation, the following words fell from Sheikh Khalīl : "If you do not agree to peace, away with you; declare war and fight." Sher Khān said, "What you say is a good omen for me; please God, I will fight." After the con-

1. *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* ; E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 201-2.

2. 'But next morning Sher Khān fell upon the royal army unawares and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array.'—Ibid., p. 203.

sultation, Sher Khān gave to Sheikh Khalīl money and rich clothes and manufactures of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, and captivated his heart by these presents and favours. Then he plied him with further flatteries, as a result of which he got the following advice :—

"War with the Emperor Humāyūn is more for your advantage than peace ; for this reason, that in his army the most complete disorder exists ;[1] he has no horses or cattle and his own brothers are in rebellion against him.[2] He only makes peace with you now from necessity, and will not eventually abide by the treaty. Look on this opportunity as so much gained, and do not let it out of your grasp, for you will never again have such another."

Having consulted his nobles, and finding that they all enthusiastically responded, Sher Khān addressed his army thus : "For two days I have drawn out my army, and have returned to my encampment, that I might put the Emperor off his guard, and that he might not suspect that my army was coming towards him. Now turn, set your faces towards the army of

1. 'Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengal destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chausa....Sher Khān having got intelligence of the distress of the army, came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months.'—Ibid., p. 202. See Banerji, op. cit., pp. 228-35.

2. Ferishta writes,—'To add to Humāyūn's embarrassments which could hardly be exceeded, his brother Kāmrān Mīrzā, instead of aiding him in this crisis, aspired to the throne, and marched with 10,000 horse from Lāhore, giving out that he came to offer assistance. On the arrival of Kāmrān at Delhi, Hindāl Mīrzā prevailed on him to unite their forces in prosecution of the siege....The princes finding the governor of Delhi refusing to surrender or betray, raised the siege and marched towards Āgrā. On reaching that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained against each other (the eyes of both being turned towards the throne) evinced itself in open war. Hindāl Mīrzā, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwar with 5,000 horse and 300 elephants ; while Kāmrān Mīrzā entering Āgrā proclaimed himself King.'—Briggs, II, p. 86.

the Emperor, and let not the honour of the Afghāns out of your grasp nor fail to display your utmost devotion, for now is the time to regain the Empire of Hindūstān."

The Afghāns replied, "Let not our lord allow any hesitation to find its way to his noble heart." Having read the *fatiha*, and drawn up his forces in order of battle, Sher Khān with all haste marched towards the Emperor's camp. When the Afghāns were close at hand, news was brought to the Emperor that Sher Khān was coming with all speed to battle with him.

'The Emperor ordered out his army to resist the attack, saying that after a short delay and having performed his ablutions, he also would follow. The Emperor was a lion in valour, and in the excess of his gallantry and daring, and the pride of youth, and confidence in the multitude of his forces and followers, who had no equals for intrepidity and gallantry, he despised the forces of Sher Khān who were all Afghāns, and did not even inspect his forces nor pay regard to what is necessary in an engagement ; nor did he take into consideration the disorganisation which the climate of Bengal had produced in his army.'[1]

'Sher Khān knew all the devices and stratagems of war, and knew how to commence and conclude an engagement, and had experienced both prosperity and misfortune. The army of the Mughals had not extricated themselves from their camp, before the Afghān army were already upon them, and coming boldly on, attacked the army of the Emperor without hesitation. In the twinkling of an eye, they routed the Mughal forces on 26th June, 1539. Humāyūn had not completed his ablutions when the intelligence reached him that the Mughals were utterly scattered, so that to rally them was impossible. The confusion in the army was so great that he had no time to remove his

1. 'Both armies lay three months inactive at a time when Humāyūn ought to have brought on action at all hazards being every day insulted and harassed by the enemy's light troops.'—Ibid., p. 85.

family,[1] but fled in the direction of Āgrā with the intention of collecting all his forces at that place, and returning again from thence to destroy his enemy.'

Jauhar, Humāyūn's personal attendant, gives the following particulars of the disastrous end of this battle (of Chupāghāt or Chausa) :—

'An archer seated on an elephant discharged an arrow which wounded the King in the arm, and the enemy began to surround him.[2] His Majesty then called to his troops to advance and charge the enemy, but no one obeyed ; and the Afghāns having succeeded in throwing everything into confusion, one of the King's followers came up, seized his bridle, and said, "There is no time to be lost ; when your friends forsake you, flight is the only remedy." The King then proceeded to the bank of the river, and although followed by one of his own elephants, he urged his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event, a water-carrier, who had distended his leather bag (*masak*) with air offered it to His Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river.[3]

'According to the most authentic accounts, 8,000 Mughals exclusive of Hindūs, were drowned, during the flight, among whom was the prince Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā.'[4]

(x) After this victory, Sher Khān assumed the title and insignia of royalty, at the desire of his nobles. Sher Khān said, "The kingly name is a very exalted thing, and is not devoid

1. 'Sher Khān, some days afterwards, sent the queen to Rohtās under charge of Husain Khān Nirak, and providing the families of the other Mughals with carriages and their necessary expenses, sent them on towards Āgrā.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 376.

2. Note the difference in the previous account of Abbās Khān and this of Jauhar, regarding the part played by Humāyūn in this engagement.

3. 'On reaching his capital, Humāyūn allowed the man who had saved his life to sit on the throne for half a day, and permitted him to reward his own relatives during that time with princely presents.'—Ferishta ; Briggs, II, p. 88.

4. Ibid. ; also E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 203.

of trouble ; but since the noble minds of my friends have decided to make me King, I agree." He seated himself on the throne, unfolded the umbrella over his head, and assumed the name of Sher Shāh, and struck coin, and caused the *khutbā* to be read in his own name ; and he took also the additional title of Shāh Ālam.[1] The coronation, according to Qanungo, took place at Gaur, about the beginning of December, 1539.[2]

(xi) Meanwhile Humāyūn reached Āgrā. 'Mīrzā Kāmrān had received no intelligence before the Emperor arrived. The latter repaired at once to the pavilion of his brothers, and on seeing each other, the eyes of the brothers filled with tears. Hindāl Mīrzā (who had come from Alwar) received pardon for his offences, and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons also came in and joined them. Consultations were held. Mīrzā Kāmrān was desirous of returning to Lāhore, and showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to all his extraordinary propositions. Khwājā Kalān Bég exerted himself to bring about the return of Mīrzā Kāmrān. The negotiations went on for six months. Meanwhile, Mīrzā Kāmrān had been attacked with severe sickness, and some designing persons had instilled into his mind that his illness was the result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's directions. So, ill as he was, he started for Lāhore, having sent Khwājā Kalān Bég in advance. He promised to leave a considerable portion of his army to assist his brother at Āgrā ; but in spite of this promise, he carried all off with him, excepting only 2,000 men whom he left at Āgrā under the command of Sikandar.'[3]

(xii) Sher Shāh himself pursued the Emperor Humāyūn and got possession of the whole country, as far as Kālpī and Kanauj. He sent Īsa Khān towards Gujarāt and Māndū and to the chiefs of these parts he wrote saying, "I am about to

1. His coins bear the title of 'Sultān-ul Ādil,'—Thomas, op. cit., p. 395.
2. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 208.
3. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 204.

send a son of mine into your neighbourhood. When the Emperor Humāyūn moves towards Kanauj, do you accompany my son, and seize and lay waste the country about Āgrā and Delhi."

'News arrived that the Emperor Humāyūn purposed marching towards Kanauj. Sher Shāh despatched his son Kutb Khān to Māndū, in order that he might, in concert with the chiefs of those parts, alarm and ravage the country about Āgrā and Delhi.

'When the Emperor Humāyūn heard that Sher Shāh had sent his son towards Chānderī, that he might raise disturbances in those parts, he sent both his brothers, Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Askarī, with other nobles in that direction. When the Mālwā chiefs heard that the two brothers of the Emperor were coming to oppose Kutb Khān, they gave him no assistance. Kutb Khān went from Chānderī to the city of Chondha (Kālpī?),[1] and, engaging the Mughals at Chondha, was slain. Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Askarī having gained this victory, returned to the Emperor.

When Sher Shāh heard this, he was extremely grieved and enraged. The Mughals gained excessive confidence from this victory, and large forces having come also from their own country, the Emperor Humāyūn arrayed his army and came to Kanauj (*Zilkada,* 946 A.H., April 1540). Sher Shāh also fortified himself on the opposite side.'

BATTLE OF KANAUJ OR BILGRĀM[2]

(xiii) 'On the 10th *Muharram*, 947, A.H. both armies drew out their forces..When Sher Shāh had drawn up his army,..he said to the Afghāns: "I have used my best exertions to collect you together, I have done my best in training you, and have kept you in anticipation of a day like this. This is the day of trial; whoever of you shows himself to excel in valour on the field of battle, him will I promote above his fellows." The Afghāns replied, "The mighty King has much protected and favoured us. This is the time for us to serve him and show our devotion."

'Sher Shāh ordered each chief to return to his own followers and

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 204.
2. See Banerji, op. cit., 243-49.

to remain with them; and he himself went through the army and set it in proper array.'

Quite in contrast to this was the ineptitude on the side of Humāyūn. Mīrzā Haidar, Bābur's cousin, who was himself one of the commanding officers on the occasion, vividly describes the condition of the Mughal army and the course and result of the battle thus :—

'The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Shāh on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 200,000 men. Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā, who had several times revolted against Humāyūn, but being unsuccessful, had sought forgiveness and had been pardoned, now having colluded with Sher Shāh, deserted.

'A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Shāh, and could expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number also of Kāmrān's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lāhore ...

'As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle, than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case, we could not at least be accused of having abandoned the Empire without striking a blow. We therefore crossed the river. Both armies entrenched themselves. Everyday skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for camp. To move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was decided to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose...

'Between me and the river there was a force of 27 *Amīrs*, all of whom carried the *tugh* banner[1] ... On the day of battle, when Sher Shāh, having formed his divisions, marched out, of all these 27 *tugh* banners, not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance towards them. The soldiership and bravery of these *Amīrs* may

1. *Tugh* was the standard surmounted by the flowing tail of a mountain cow, an object of great ambition, and granted only to the heroes.—Erskine, op. cit., p. 541.

be conceived from this exhibition of courage. Sher Shāh came out in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatai force as about 40,000, all mounted on tipchak horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the *Amīrs* and officers of the army was such as I have described.'

'Every *Amīr* and *Wazīr* in the Chaghatai army, whether he be rich or poor, has his *ghulāms*. An *Amīr* of note with his 100 retainers and followers has 500 servants and *ghulāms*, who in the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no control over themselves. So in whatsoever place there was conflict, the *ghulāms* were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their masters, they were seized with panic, and blindly rushed about in terror. In short, it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed upon us in the rear, that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the gun-carriages, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Such was the state of the centre.

'On the right, Sher Shāh advanced in battle array; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp-followers fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the centre.

'The Chaghatais were defeated in this battle-field where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded; not a gun was fired; and the chariots were useless.'

'But the Emperor Humāyūn himself,' says Abbās Khān, 'remained firm like a mountain in his position on the battle-field, and displayed such valour and gallantry as is beyond all description. But when he saw supernatural beings fighting against him, he acknowledged the work of God, abandoned the battle to these unearthly warriors, and turned the bridle of his purpose toward his capital of Āgrā. He received no wound himself, and escaped safe and sound out of that blood-thirsty whirlpool.[1] The greater part of his army was driven into the river Ganges.[2]

1. Humāyūn crossed the river on the back of an elephant; but the opposite bank was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. 'At length,' says Jauhar, 'some of the colour-men, who were on the look out for him, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded towards Āgrā.'—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 144.)

2. "Most writers," says Elphinstone, "ascribe Humāyūn's de-

'The Emperor fled to Āgrā; and when the enemy approached that city, he made no delay but went to Lāhore.'[1]

(xiv) Sher Shāh having sent two of his best officers to besiege Gwālior and Sambhal, and 'speedily settled the country about Kanauj, betook himself in the direction of Āgrā. When Sher Shāh approached Āgrā, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lāhore. Sher Shāh was greatly displeased at this, ... and on his arrival at Āgrā, remained there, for some days himself, but sent Khawās Khān and Barmazid Gur in the direction of Lāhore, with a large Afghān force to pursue the Emperor ... But the Emperor and Mīrzā Kāmrān quitted Lāhore, which was shortly afterwards occupied by Sher Shāh, who, however, made no halt there. On the third march beyond Lāhore, he heard that Mīrza Kāmrān had gone by way of the Judh hills to Kābul, and that the Emperor Humāyūn was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multān and Bhakkar. The King went to Khushab and thence despatched Khawās Khān... and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multān. He instructed them not to engage the Emperor, but to drive him beyond the borders of the Kingdom, and then to return.'

The Futile Conclave.

Here we must slightly retrace our steps to recount Humāyūn's last pathetic efforts to win the co-operation of his ungrateful brothers. 'At the beginning of *Rabiu-l awwal* all the Chaghatai Sultāns and *Amīrs* were assembled in Lāhore; but Mīrzā Muhammad Sultān and his sons, who had come to Lāhore, fled from thence to Multān. Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir found it expedient to go towards Bhakkar and Thatha, and Mīrzā Kāmrān determined to go to Kābul as soon as the party was broken up.

'It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there

feat to treachery, and say that Sher Shāh attacked him during an armistice, or even after a peace had been signed. But Abu-l Fazl asserts, with great justice to Sher Shāh, that he delayed Humāyūn's retreat by amusing him with negotiations, but never professed to suspend his hostility, and was entirely indebted to his military skill for the success of his stratagem."—(*Hist. of India,* p. 450 n.). Cf. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 248-9.

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 205.

was no possibility of bringing his brothers and *Amīrs* to any common agreement, and he was very despondent.' Ferishta says, 'Humāyūn used every possible argument with his brothers to effect a coalition of interests against Sher Shāh telling them that their intestine feud must end in their losing that mighty Empire which had cost their father so much pains to acquire; that their conduct would involve the house of Tīmūr in one common ruin; and that no remedy existed but to reunite against the common enemy, and afterwards to divide the Empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with the King's brothers, who, blinded by ambition, determined rather to lose all than to be content with a part.'[1]

'Mīrzā Haidar Bég after much consultation had been sent off with a party who had volunteered for service in Kāshmīr,[2] and Khwājā Kalān Bég was ordered to follow him. When the Mīrzā had reached Naushahar, and Kalān Bég had got as far as Siālkot, intelligence reached the Emperor that Sher Shāh had crossed the river (Biyah) at Sultānpūr, and was only a few *kos* distant. His Majesty then passed over the river of Lāhore.

'Mīrzā Kāmrān, after proving faithless to the oaths and compacts which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahra.[3] When Khwājā Kalān Bég heard of this, he marched rapidly from Siālkot, and joined the camp of Humāyūn. At Bahra, Mīrzā Kāmrān and Mīrzā Askarī parted from Humāyūn, and went off accompanied by Khwājā Kalān Bég to Kābul.' This was towards the end of October, 1546.

1. Briggs, II, pp. 86-7. For an analysis of the causes of Humāyūn's failure to maintain his sovereignty see Banerji, op. cit., pp. 253-6.

2. When Mīrzā Haidar reached Kāshmīr, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and waited upon him, and through them Kāshmīr fell into his hands, without striking a blow. On the 22nd *Rajab*, he became ruler of Kāshmīr.—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 206.

3. Abu-l Fazl says, he sent an envoy to Sher Shāh, intriguing for the Punjāb.—*Akbar-Nāma*, I, p. 205.

III. FIFTEEN YEARS OF EXILE (1540-55)

Wandering in the Desert.

'Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir still remained with Humāyūn, but after a few stages they also disagreed. For twenty days they disappeared, but falling into difficulties, they once more came back and made their submission. On the banks of the river Sind (Indus) a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. They wandered about from place to place,—Rohri, Bhakkar, Patar—and sought refuge in vain from Shāh Husain Arghūn, ruler of Thatha, with a view to '*attempt the recovery of Gujarāt.*'

'Grain becoming scarce at Bhakkar, the Emperor marched off to Patar, where Mīrzā Hindāl was staying, for he had heard that Mīrzā Hindāl intended to go to Kandahār.' It was here, in the camp of Hindāl at Patar, that Humāyūn fell in love with Maryam-i Makāni Hamida Bānu Begam (who soon became mother of Akbar), in the summer of 1541. Nizāmu-d dīn says, he 'spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Hindāl.' The Emperor forbade Hindāl to go to Kandahār, but he did not obey. When Humāyūn was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers.

Then the conquest of Thatha was thought of. 'When the Emperor marched for Thatha, a large body of soldiers parted from him, and stayed at Bhakkar. Then he made a vain attempt to capture the fort of Sīwan, and retired to Bhakkar. Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir proved treacherous and helped the enemy to harass Humāyūn, but Humāyūn once more forgave him, and spoke not a word of all that had passed.' But, 'he once more exhibited his animosity to the Emperor, and never again sought a reconciliation.' The men of Humāyūn's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir, who 'in the depths of his infamy, now prepared to turn his arms against Humāyūn himself.'

In this extremity he resolved upon marching to Maldeo 'one of the faithful *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān, who at that time

surpassed all the *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān in power and in the number of his forces.' This Maldeo had sent letters to Bhakkar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindūstān. Humāyūn, accordingly marched towards Maldeo's country by way of Jesalmir. The ruler of this latter place, Rāi Lon Karan, 'shamefully took an unmanly course'. He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march ; but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humāyūn had a great many men wounded. Then he marched with all possible speed, till he reached the country of Maldeo, and sent on Atka Khān to Maldeo at Jodhpūr, while he himself halted for a few days at some distance.

'When Maldeo was informed of the Emperor's weakness he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Shāh. For Sher Shāh had sent an ambassador to Maldeo, holding out great expectations ; and the latter, in the extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Humāyūn a prisoner if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nagor and its dependencies had fallen into the power of Sher Shāh, and consequently he was afraid lest Sher Shāh should be annoyed, and send a large army into his territory against Humāyūn. But luckily, one of the Emperor's librarians, who at the time of his defeat had fled to Maldeo, now wrote to Humāyūn informing him that Maldeo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. So Humāyūn marched off at once to Amarkot.

'At length, with extreme toil, they reached Amarkot, which is 100 *kos* distant from Thatha. The Rāṇā of Amarkot was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatsoever the Emperor had in his treasury, he distributed among his soldiers. Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th *Rajab*, 949 A. H., 15th October, 1542,

and the Emperor under spiritual guidance gave to the child the name of Jalālu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar.'

About July 1543,[1] 'His Majesty, seeing that it was not advisable to remain longer in this country, determined upon going to Kandahār. At this time Bairam Khān, who later became famous as Akbar's guardian, rejoined him; he had sought refuge in Gujarāt after Humāyūn's defeat at Kanauj, and after some adventures found the way back to his master.[2] But Humāyūn's enemies still dogged his footsteps. Shāh Husain of Thatha informed Mīrzās Askarī and Kāmrān about his movements, and those ungrateful wretches 'wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner.' Humāyūn only said: "What is the worth of Kandahār and Kābul that I should strive with my faithless brothers?"

Leaving the young Prince Akbar, who was only a year old, at Kandahār, in the charge of a small party,[3] Humāyūn accompanied by Bairam Khān and a few others, 'set off even without determining the route.'

In Persia.

'The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these parts no safe place for His Majesty; so he proceeded onwards towards Khorāsān and Irāq.

Upon entering Sistān, Ahmad Sultān Shamlu, governor of that province under Shāh Tahmāsp, received him with great kindness. Thence, he proceeded to Herāt, 'because he had heard great praise of the city,' and was equally well received. 'He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting Shāh Tahmāsp. All the palaces and

1. "Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Sind, of which 18 months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country; 6 months were spent in his journeys to the eastward of the Indus, and a year in his residence at Jun (a branch of the Indus, half way between Thatha and Amarkot) and his journey to Kandahār."—(Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 455.)

2. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 258-59; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 215.

3. Askarī carried off the Prince 'and gave him into the charge of Sultān Begam, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness (during the year, 1544). Ibid., p. 216.

gardens of Herāt are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshed and Tus.'

Under the orders of the Shāh, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. At length he reached Pulak Surlik and had an interview with Shāh Tahmāsp, who entertained him and showed every honour and distinction, worthy of both host and guest. He obtained from the Shāh a force of 14,000 men, with whom he marched towards Kandahār. In return Humāyūn promised to establish the *Shia* faith in his dominions, when he reacquired them, and to hand over Kandahār to the Persians.[1]

Reconquest Commenced.

At this time, Kāmrān was in possession of Kābul, Hindāl of Ghaznī, and Askarī of Kandahār. Kāmrān had also taken Badakhshān, or South Bactria, from Suleimān Mīrzā who had been placed there by Bābur ; North Bactria, including Balkh, was in the hands of the Uzbegs. Sher Shāh was still alive, and therefore there was little to be hoped from an invasion of Hindūstān.[2]

(i) 'When they reached the fort of Garmsir, they took

1. Shāh Tahmāsp was the son of Shāh Ismāel who had rendered assistance to Bābur on very similar terms. Shāh Ismāel had established the *Shia* faith as the religion of Persia, and Tahmāsp too was an equally ardent apostle of the sect. When Humāyūn showed some disinclination to accept the terms, Shāh Tahmāsp appears to have sent him a large supply of fuel, with the message that it should serve as his funeral pyre if he failed to become a *Shia*. Humāyūn was also presented with three papers, any one of which he was asked to sign. The *qāzī* who brought these to him said that it was his duty as well as interest to comply with the demand, which he had no means of effectually resisting.

"The memoir-writer does not mention, and may not have known the contents of the papers ; but it seems clear that they must have contained a profession of the *Shia* religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as, an engagement to cede the frontier province or kingdom of Kandahār. . . . That Humāyūn himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shaikh Safi at Ardebil, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Sunnī."—Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 463-5 ; see also Erskine, op. cit., p. 298.

2. Elphinstone, loc. cit., p. 466.

possession of the Garmsir territories. On arriving at Kandahār, a large body of men sallied out of the fort, and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The siege of Kandahār went on for three months.'

Bairam Khān was sent to Kābul on an embassy to Kāmrān Mīrzā. There he had interviews with Kāmrān, Hindāl, and others. Kāmrān sent his envoy 'to settle terms of peace if possible'. But Mīrzā Askarī was still intent upon fighting and holding out.

The Persian forces were tired at the long duration of the siege of Kandahār, and had even thoughts of returning. But when many of the great *Bégs* rallied round the Emperor, Askarī lost heart and proposed to surrender. 'The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms.'

'It had been agreed with the Persians that as soon as Kandahār was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory ... Mīrzā Askarī having found an opportunity, made his escape ; but a party being sent in pursuit, he was caught and brought back. His Majesty then placed him in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes now met in council, and resolved that under the necessities of the case, the fort of Kandahār must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the reconquest of Kābul and Badakhshān.

'They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Humāyūn mounted his horse and went into the city .... The Chaghatais to their great satisfaction thus obtained possession of Kandahār' (September, 1545).

"The cession of Kandahār to the Persians was the price of the assistance of the Shāh," observes Elphinstone, "and by availing himself of that assistance, . . .he ratified the engagement anew ; and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery."[1]

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 468.

(ii) After this, Humāyūn marched to effect the conquest of Kābul, and left Bairam Khān in charge of Kandahār.

'Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir and Mīrzā Hindāl, having devised a scheme together, deserted Kāmrān. After being much harassed by the Hazāra tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proceeded with him to Kābul... Mīrzā Kāmrān who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting; but every night parties of men deserted his army and joined Humāyūn. Mīrzā Kāmrān, being alarmed, sent a party of Sheikhs to wait upon the Emperor and ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him, on condition of his coming in and making his submission. Kāmrān did not agree to this, but fled and shut himself up in the citadel of Kābul. All his forces came over to the side of the Emperor. On the same night Kāmrān fled to Ghaznī. The Emperor sent Mīrzā Hindāl in pursuit.

'The Emperor then entered Kābul (15th November, 1545), and at night the citizens in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begam brought the young Prince Jalālu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the reunion. The victory was accomplished on the 10th *Ramzān*, 953 A. H., when the Prince was 4 years, 2 months, and 5 days old. The remainder of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kābul.'

(iii) In the following year, Humāyūn marched to Badakhshān, for Mīrzā Suleimān had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. Mīrzā Suleimān was defeated and put to flight.

When Humāyūn was away in Badakhshān, Kāmrān, by a surprise attack, took possession of Kābul and Ghaznī. Hearing of this, the Emperor turned towards Kābul, having put Suleimān again in charge of Badakhshān and Kunduz. Kāmrān had taken possession of Prince Akbar, and in the fight that ensued, he made good use of this possession. 'With dastardly

feeling,' writes our historian, 'he ordered that His Highness the young Prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shot of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Māham Anka took the child in her bosom, put herself forward, and held him towards the enemy (i.e., the garrison) and God Almighty preserved him.'[1] Kāmrān's spirit fell, and, from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Reinforcements came from Badakhshān and Kandahār.

Mīrzā Kāmrān now sued for peace, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his personal submission. But he was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. After some scrapes and adventures he sought refuge in Badakhshān. In vain he tried to get help from the Uzbegs, and when he failed in this, being very much downcast, affected repentance and expressed his desire to go to Mecca. The Emperor once more pardoned him (April, 1547). 'When they met, he displayed the greatest kindness to Kāmrān, who again received the ensigns of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days, he gave the country of Kolab as an *ikta* to Kāmrān.

(iv) In June 1548, Humāyūn left Kābul, with the intention of proceeding against Balkh, and summoned Kāmrān and Askarī. Though Hindāl joined him, Kāmrān and Askarī once more showed hostility, and did not come to pay their homage. . . .

'In consequence of Kāmrān's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kābul while the Emperor was engaged in Balkh. Humāyūn declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balkh had

1. Abū-l Fazl relates in the *Akbar-Nāma* that the Prince was actually exposed. But Bāyazīd, who was present, though he minutely describes other atrocities in his Memoirs, does not mention this ; while Jauhar in his private Memoirs of Humāyūn, states that he only threatened to expose him, on which Humāyūn, ordered the firing to cease.—Malleson, op. cit., p. 56 n.

been undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence; so the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Kāmrān's remaining absent.... The expedition proved a failure' (1549-50).

Humāyūn reached Kābul in safety and remained there for the rest of the year. Kāmrān once again captured Kābul. Hindāl remained with the Emperor, and Askarī fell into his hands. Ultimately, Askarī died 'in the country of Rūm' between Damascus and Mecca, in 1558.[1]

Kāmrān had married a daughter of Shāh Husain Arghūn of Sindh. When Humāyūn dislodged him again, he sought help from his father-in-law, and made a fresh attempt on Kābul. In the course of this fight Hindāl met his death—19 Nov., 1551.[2] Finally, Kāmrān sought refuge with Sultān Salīm Shāh Sūr in Hindūstān; but disgusted with the treatment he received there, he fled to the hills of Siālkot. Here he fell into the hands of Sultān Ahmad Gakkar, who sent him as a captive to Humāyūn. 'The Emperor in his natural humanity was ready to overlook the offences of Kāmrān, but the officers and chiefs of the Chaghatai clans, who had suffered many things owing to Kāmrān's hostility, having agreed together, went to Humāyūn, and stated that the security of the Chaghatai clans and people depended on the destruction of Kāmrān Mīrzā, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Humāyūn had no escape but by consenting that he should be blinded.'[3]

1. *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 234. Malleson says that he was exiled to Mecca in 1551, where he died in 1559.—(*Akbar*, p. 59.)

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 234; Ferishta, Briggs, II, p. 169. 'Out of affection to the memory of Hindāl Mīrzā, who had expiated for his former disobedience by his blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rāzia Sultāna, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred on them, at the same time all the wealth of Hindāl, and appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to the Government of Ghaznī.'

3. Cf. Ferishta, Briggs, II, p. 170.

Ali Dost Barbegi, Saiyid Muhammad Bikna, and Ghulām Āli *Shash-angasht* (the six-fingered) deprived Mīrzā Kāmrān of his sight with a lancet.[1] Afterwards, the miserable prince obtained permission to go to Mecca, and 'being furnished with all that he could require for the journey, he set out'. He died in the holy city four years later, on 5th Oct., 1557.'[2]

IV. RESTORATION AND DEATH (1555-56)

'After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of (Sultān) Salīm Khān (Sūr), and of the dissensions among the Afghāns.[3] In November 1554, the Emperor begun his march.

1. Jauhar gives all the painful details of the operation :—
'Early in the morning the King marched towards Hindūstān, but before his departure, determined that the prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly ; but the attendants on the prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act......Ghulām Āli represented to Kāmrān, in a respectful and condoling manner, that he had received positive orders to blind him. The prince replied, "I would rather that you would at once kill me". Ghulām Āli said, "We dare not exceed our orders". He then twisted a hand-kerchief as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he with the *farash*, seizing the prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down, and thrust a lancet into his eyes (such was the will of God!). This they repeated at least fifty times ; but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him. He then said, "Why do you sit on my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and he acted with great courage, till they squeezed some lemon juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes. He could not forbear, and called out, "O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed have been amply punished in this world ; have compassion on me in the next".....The author of these pages (Jauhar), seeing the prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him. I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a melancholy mood.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 148-49.

2. Ibid., p. 235.

3. At the death of Salīm Shāh, the Sūr Empire broke up into several parts : Sikandar Sūr, to whose share the Punjāb had fallen, had since attacked Ibrāhīm the usurper of Delhi and Āgrā and had

When the army encamped at Peshāwar, Bairam Khān, according to orders, came up from Kandahār, and the royal standards passed the river Indus on the last day of that year. The governor of New Rohtās, although that fort had been strengthened, made no resistance, and fled. . . . Humāyūn continued his march towards Lāhore, and when the Afghāns of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Lāhore without opposition (24th February, 1555), and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jalandhar and Sirhind. The districts of the Punjab, Sirhind and Hissār, all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chaghatai forces. A body of Afghāns, assembled at Dīpālpūr, were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

'Sikandar Afghān, who held possession of Delhi, sent 30,000 men under Tātār Khān and Haibat Khān to attack the advance forces in Sirhind. The Chaghatai forces concentrated at Jalandhar and for all the numbers of the enemy and their own paucity, they were ready to fight. They advanced and crossed the Sutlej. . . . As the sun went down a great battle began.

Battle of Machwāra.

'The Afghāns began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark, the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afghāns being greatly annoyed by the fire (*atashī*) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the villages of Hindūstān are thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle, the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons heartily by the light of the burning village. The enemy in the glare of the fire, presented a fine mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer, took to flight.

'A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Lāhore, the Emperor was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Punjāb, Sirhind, and Hissār-Fīrōza were now in his possession, and some of the dependencies of Delhi also were in the hands of the Mughals.

driven him from his territories ; while Ādil Shāh, the real sovereign, was carrying on operations against both.—Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 472.

'On hearing of this defeat, (Sultān) Sikandar Afghān marched forth to take his revenge, with 80,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sirhind and there he entrenched and fortified his camp. The Chaghatai generals strengthened the fortifications of Sirhind and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Humāyūn for reinforcements. Thereupon he sent Prince Akbar towards Sirhind, and as he approached, the generals came out to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who were four times more numerous than the Mughals.

Battle of Sirhind.

'For some days the daring spirits in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length the vanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division under Bairam Khān (*Khān-Khānan*) on the one side, and on the other a third division under Iskandar Khān.....attacked the enemy. In the engagement of all the nobles exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afghāns, 100,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage, and (Sultān) Sikandar fled.

'The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death; and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphant to wait upon the Emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar and this was circulated in all directions.'

'*This victory*,' says Farishta, '*decided the fate of the Empire; and the kingdom of Delhi fell forever from the hands of the Afghāns*.'[1]

Sikandar Khān Uzbeg was then sent on to Delhi, and the royal camp was moved to Samānā. A body of Afghāns in Delhi made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Uzbeg entered and occupied the city. Mīr Abul Ma'ali was sent to Lāhore to keep in check (Sultān) Sikandar, who had fled into the Siwālik mountains. 'In the month of *Ramzān* (23rd July 1555) the Emperor entered Delhi, and once more the *khutbā* was read, and the coins were stamped with his name in the territories of Hindūstān. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was

1. Briggs, II, p. 176.

made the ruler of a province. The remainder of this year was spent in ease and enjoyment.'

'But now, the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th *Rabi-ul awwal,* at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the top of the library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending the *muazzin* cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again, his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked, and the Emperor was taken up senseless, and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spake. The Court physicians exerted all their powers but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Sheikh Juli was sent to the Punjab to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th *Rabi-ul awwal,* 963 A. H. (24th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for paradise. The date of his death is given in the line : "*Humāyūn bādshāh az bam uftad.*"'

Death of Humāyūn.

By a strange presentiment as it were, sometime before his death, Humāyūn used to repeat with deep emotion, and tears gushing from his eyes, the following mystical verses, which he had heard from a supernatural voice[1] :—

"*O Lord, of Thine infinite goodness make me Thine own;*
Make me a partner of the knowledge of Thy attributes;
I am broken-hearted from the cares and sorrows of life;
O call to Thee Thy poor madman (lover),
O grant me my release!"

1. 'I lately rose,' writes Humāyūn, 'after midnight to say the stated prayers, and afterwards retired again to rest; when just before dawn, as I was lying, my eyes shut but my heart awake, I heard a supernatural voice clearly repeat these verses.'—(Erskine, op. cit., p. 535.)

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Contemporary Estimates.

Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, whose narrative we have mainly followed for the life of Humāyūn, concludes his account of him with the following estimate of Humāyūn's character: 'He reigned for more than 25 years, and he was 51 years of age.[1] His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hindūstān would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth, during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mīrzā Kāmrān and the Chaghatai nobles, when they were taken prisoner and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions (*wazu*), and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mīr Abu-l Hai, the *sadar* or Chief Judge, by the name of *Abdal*. But when he had gone through his ablutions he apologised, and said, that as *Hai* was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and conceivable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him! (Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 240.)

Among the contemporary estimates of Humāyūn, that of his uncle Mīrzā Haidar will be always considered the most valuable for its intimacy as well as truthfulness. For, 'No

1. Humāyūn was 48 and not 51 years of age at the time of his death. "Although more than 25 years had elapsed since the death of Bābur, in 1530, the effective reign of Humāyūn, including both his first and second periods of rule, had subsisted for only about ten years."—(Smith, *O. H.*, p. 327.)

cne of my brothers or Sultāns of the time, who had been in the Emperor's service,' he writes, 'had ever been honoured in such a way as I, Muhammad Haidar Kurkan, was, who being the approved friend of such a Prince as the Emperor, was not only called "brother" but was chosen as "*dast*".

'Humāyūn Pādshāh was the eldest, greatest and most renowned of Bābur's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he; but in consequence of frequent intercourse with the sensual and profligate men who served him, he had contracted some bad habits; among these was his addiction to opium. All the evils that have been set down to the Emperor, and become the common talk of the people, are attributable to this vice. Nevertheless he was endowed with excellent qualities, being brave in battle, gay in feast, and very generous. In short, he was a dignified stately sovereign, who observed much state and pomp. When I entered his service at Āgrā, it was after his defeats, and people said that, compared with what had been, there was nothing left of his pomp and magnificence. Yet, when his army was arrayed for the Ganges campaign (in which the whole direction devolved on me), there were still 17,000 menials in his retinue, from which circumstance an estimate may be formed of the rest of his establishment.' (Lane-Poole, *Med. India from Contem. Sources*, p. 50.)

Ferishta says, 'Humāyūn was of elegant stature, and of a bronze complexion. The mildness and benevolence of Humāyūn's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great intrepidity, and possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the science of geopraphy, and delighted in the company of learned men. He was regular in his devotions and ablutions and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony.' (Briggs, II, p. 178.) "Humāyūn was a prince as remarkable for his wit as for the urbanity of his manners; and for the most part disposed to spend his time in social intercourse and pleasure.

He devoted himself, however, to the sciences of astronomy and geography; and not only wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements, but had terrestrial and celestial globes constructed for his use." (Ibid., pp. 70-71).

Some Modern Estimates.

"Like Bābur his education and tastes were entirely Persian, ...but while Tīmūr and Bābur were strong individualists and men of action, never allowing themselves to be turned from any set purpose, either from the preaching of a *mullā* or the prognostications of a sooth-sayer, Humāyūn was but a weak dilettante who sought the advice of the court astrologers in all state affairs.[1]....In spite of these precautions the stars in their courses fought against Humāyūn... His shallowness and defects of character were covered by the saving grace of cheerfulness. Like most of the great Mughals, he was for his intimate friends a prince of good fellows. He was never wanting in personal courage, but the restoration of the Mughal dynasty was more due to the steadfast loyalty of his comrades and to the weakness of Sher Shāh's descendants, than to his own military capacity. The contrast between Sher Shāh and Humāyūn could not be better illustrated than it is in the two great monuments which perpetuate their memory. Humāyūn's mausoleum at Delhi portrays in its polished elegance the facile *chermeur* and rather superficial dilettante of the Persian school, whose best title to fame is that he was the father of Akbar; Sher Shāh's at Sahserām, the stern strong man, egotist

1. 'He caused seven halls of audience to be built, in which he received persons according to their rank. The first called the *Palace of the Moon,* was set apart for ambassadors, messengers and travellers. In the second, called the *Palace of Venus*, civil officers and persons of that description, were received; and there were five other palaces for the remaining five planets. In each of these buildings he gave public audience, according to the planet of the day. The furniture and paintings of each, as also the dresses of the house-hold attendants, bore some symbol emblematic of the planet. In each of these palaces he transacted business for one day in the week.'—Ferishta; Briggs, II, p. 71.

and empire-builder who trampled all his enemies under foot, and ruled Hindūstān with a rod of iron.' (E. B. Havell, *Aryan Rule in India,* pp. 428-9, 448-9)

" Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy ; and though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition ; yet as he had been brought up under Bābur, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretentions, though he never turned them to the best account. . . He was not naturally either cunning or cruel ; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloody than Charles II." (Elphinstone, *History of India,* pp. 451, 471)

" His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend ; his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means ' fortunate,' and never was an unlucky sovereign more mis-called. . . His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling, Humāyūn was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life, and he tumbled out of it." (Lane-Poole, *Mediæval India,* pp. 219, 237).

" Humāyūn, although a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energetic promptitude of his versatile father. His addiction to opium probably explains his failures to a considerable extent." (Smith, *Oxford History of India,* pp. 325-6)

" Brave, genial, witty, a charming companion, highly educated, generous, and merciful, Humāyūn was even less qualified than his father to found a dynasty on principles which should endure. Allied to his many virtues were many compromising defects. He was volatile, thoughtless, and unsteady. He was swayed by no strong sense of duty. His generosity was apt to degenerate into prodigality ; his attachments into weak-

ness. He was unable to concentrate his energies for a time in any serious direction, whilst for comprehensive legislation he had neither the genius nor the inclination. He was thus eminently unfitted to consolidate the conquest his father had bequeathed to him."—(Malleson, *Akbar*, p. 50).

"The real character of Humāyūn may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians....He was a man of great quickness of parts, but volatile, thoughtless and unsteady. Personally of distinguished bravery, he was occasionally successful in war, without possessing the higher talents of a general. In the earlier part of his reign, seconded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he over-ran, first the kingdoms of Mālwā and Gujarāt, and next those of Bihār and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions; but destitute of those powers of combination which are necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest, as bravery and a well-disciplined army are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all; and the greater part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions, and anarchy,—the fruit of his lack of political firmness and determination.

"His disposition was naturally generous, friendly and affectionate; his manners polite, frank, and winning. He seems to have been considerate to his servants, and popular in his intercourse with the lower classes....but down to the day of his death he was the prey of his flatterers and favourites. From his father he inherited the fondness for literature and the arts, and he delighted in the society of literary and scientific men. He was not only an admirer of poetry, but himself a writer of verses. He is also said to have made considerable progress in mathematics and astronomy. He liberally patronised such as were eminent in these sciences, and promoted several of them to offices of trust. At the time of his death, he was about to construct an observatory, and had collected the necessary instruments for that purpose. A floating palace, several stories in height, with a garden and a *bazār* or market,

which is constructed at Āgrā, on ships linked together and connected by platforms, and floated down the Jumnā, has been celebrated ; this and several other of his contrivances evinced his fondness for the mechanical arts. . . .But though Humāyūn was brave and good tempered, liberal and fond of learning, his virtues all bordered on neighbouring defects, and produced little fruit. There seems to have been a frivolity in his mind that neutralised his good qualities ; and a fatality seemed to attend on his merits.—(Erskine, *History of India,* II, pp. 530-31, 534-35.)[1]

HUMĀYŪN'S PLAN FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

'From the time when Humāyūn arrived in Delhi, he devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his kingdom, and to watching the progress of his armies which he had sent in various directions to reduce different provinces. He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the Empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it. The plan which he projected was to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a local capital, and a board of administration for directing local affairs. Delhi, Āgrā, Kanauj, Jaunpūr, Māndū, and Lāhore were among the capitals fixed upon. To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general, so as to render it independent of assistance from the others ; while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about 12,000 horse, which were to be under his own immediate command, and at all times ready to move in any direction. This plan, however, he never had time, had he even possessed sufficient steadiness, to carry into execution.' --Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 526-27.

The dilettante character of Humāyūn's regime is perhaps best illustrated in the following extracts from the writings of Khwāndamīr who died in Humāyūn's service during the Gujarāt campaign :—

Classification of the people.

'When the auspicious throne was filled by this dignified and brave monarch, all the officers of the State and inhabitants of the kingdom were divided into *three classes.* The brothers and relations of the King, the nobles and ministers, as well as the military men

1. Also read S. M. Jaffar, op cit., pp. 41-49.

were called *Ahl-i Daulat* (Officers of the State), because it is evident that according to the words, "There can be no dominion without men", no degree of wealth and prosperity can be attained without the assistance of this class of brave and courageous people ; and no one can obtain the throne and power without the aid of warriors and heroes.

'Kings with the assistance of their army,
Place their feet upon the throne of empires.
He alone can obtain wealth and rank
Who is assisted by his army.'

'The holy persons, the great *mushaikhs* (religious men), the respectable *saiyids*, the literati, the law-officers, the scientific persons, poets, besides other great and respectable men, formed the *second class*, and were denominated *Ahl-i Sa'adat* (good men), because, to observe honour and regard these people, and to associate with such men, secures eternal prosperity, and enables men to rise to high dignities and ranks.

'Virtue is the gift of God :
It is not in the power of the mighty man to obtain it.
If you wish to obtain fortune,
You must associate with virtuous men.'

'Those who possessed beauty and elegance, those who were young and most lovely, and also clever musicians, and sweet singers, composed the *third class*, and the appellation of *Ahl-i-Murād* (people of pleasure) was conferred on them, because most people take delight in the company of such young-looking men, of rosy cheeks and sweet voices, and are pleased by hearing their songs, and the pleasing sounds of the musical instruments, such as the harp, the sackbut and the lute.

'The hope of the heart of lovers
Is never realised but when they meet persons whose cheeks are rosy.
He who is fond of hearing songs and music
Has the gates of happiness opened for himself.'

Gradations of Rank.

'The ranks of all the people composing the three classes were divided into *twelve orders* or arrows, and every one received a grade and rank suitable to himself. Arrows of different standards of gold were distributed, by means of which the distinction of ranks and stations among servants of the throne was marked. The twelfth

arrow, which was made of the purest gold, was put in the auspicious quiver of the King and nobody could dare to touch it. The eleventh arrow belonged to His Majesty's relations and brethren, and all the Sultāns who were in the Government employ. Tenth, to the great *mushaikhs, saiyids,* and the learned and religious men. Ninth, to the great nobles. Eighth, to the courtiers and some of the King's personal attendants. Seventh, to the attendants in general. Sixth, to the harems and to the well-behaved female attendants. Fifth to young maid-servants. Fourth, to the treasurers and stewards. Third, to the soldiers. Second, to the menial servants. First, to the palace guards, camel-drivers, and the like. Each of these arrows or orders had three grades : the highest, the middle, and the lowest.

Government Departments.

'Another of the arrangements of this King was, that he divided all the affairs of Government into four Departments, after the number of the four elements, viz., *Atashī, Hawāī, Ābī,* and *Khakī;* and for the conduct of the business of these Departments he appointed four ministers. The Department to which belonged the artillery and the making of arms, weapons of war, and various sorts of engines and other such things in which assistance was taken of fire, was called *Atashī;* and the superintendence of this Department was placed under Khwājā Amidu-l Mulk, and the fire of his care inflamed the ovens of the hearts of those who were employed on those works. The duties connected with the ward-robe, kitchen, stable, and other great and important offices belonged to the *Hawāī* Department, and the care of them was entrusted to Khwājā Lutf-ulla. The *Sharbat-khāna, Suji-khāna,* the digging of canals, and all the works which related to water and rivers, were comprised in the *Ābī* Department, and its superintendent was Khwājā Hasan. Agriculture, erection of buildings, resumption of *Khalisa* lands, and some household affairs formed a Department which was called *Khakī,* and this was placed under the management of Khwājā Jalāu-d dīn Mīrzā Bég. The supervision of all the four Departments was entrusted to the best of nobles, the most learned man, Amīr Wais Muhammad.

Apportionment of time.

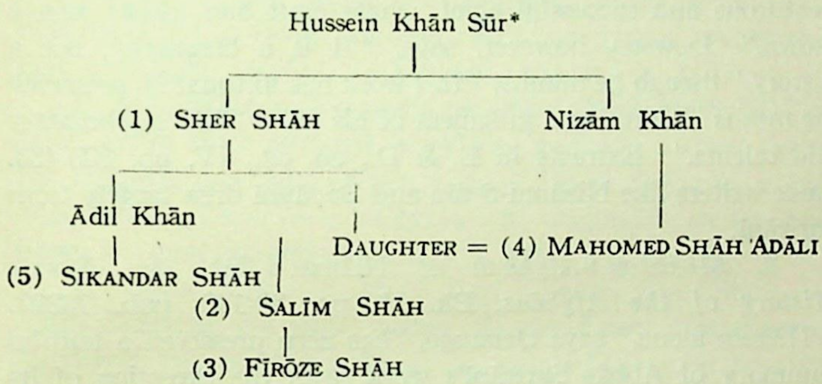
'According to this classification, the wise King also divided the days of the week, and appointed one day to each of the three classes. Thus, Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for pious men, and visits were received on these days from literary and religious persons. On these two days the tree of hope of this estimable body of the people produced the fruit of prosperity by their obtaining audience in the paradise-resembling Court. The reason why these two days were

appointed for this class was that Saturday is ascribed to Saturn, who is the protector of good and religious men and persons of old respectable families; and Thursday is appropriated to Jupiter, who is the preserver of the *saiyids*, the learned men, and the strict followers of the Muhammadan law. Sundays and Tuesdays were fixed for the State officers; and all the Government business and duties connected with the management of the country were discharged on these days. The King, destroyer of enemies, sat in the public Court, and consequently all the nobles and plebiens were able to obtain the honour of seeing him. The advantage in appointing these two days for opening the Court, and attending to the State affairs was, that Sunday belongs to the Sun, to whom according to the will of God, is attached the fates of all rulers and kings; and Tuesday is the day of Mars, who is the patron of warriors and brave men. Hence, it is evident that to adorn the throne of sovereignty in the public Court-Hall by his royal sessions on these two days, and to devote himself to the discharge of the government duties, was very proper.

'Amongst the other customs which were introduced by this just and generous King and were observed on the days of the sessions, one was, that when he adorned the throne of sovereignty by sitting on it, drums were beaten, to inform the people, who, immediately on hearing of their noise, came to see him; and when he left the Court, the gunners fired guns to let the people know that they might retire. Also on those days the keeper of the ward-robe used to bring some suits of fine apparel, and the treasurer some purses of money, and they placed them in the Court, in order that rewards and robes might be given to any one from them, and no delay should take place. And also that several people who resembled Bahram, having put on coats of mail, and taken blood-drinking swords in their hands, stood before the throne to seize and punish those who might be proved guilty. Mondays and Wednesdays were allotted for pleasure parties, and on these days, some of the old companions and chosen friends were convened, and a band of musicians and singers was called, and they were all satisfied in their wishes. The cause of appointing these days for this purpose was, that Monday is the day of the Moon, and Wednesday of Mercury; and it was therefore reasonable that on these days he should keep company with young men beautiful as the Moon, and hear sweet songs and delightful music. On Fridays, as the name *juma* indicates, he called together all the assemblies, and sat with them as long as he found leisure from his other duties.'

(*Humāyūn-Nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 119-24).

SHER SHĀH AND HIS SUCCESSORS



* From Brigg's Ferishta, vol. II, p. 98 opp.

AUTHORITIES[1]

AFGHĀN

A. PRIMARY : (1) *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī,* also called *Tuhfat-i Akbar Shāhī,* by Abbās Khān Sarwānī, written by order of Akbar. The author himself says that he was connected by marriage with the family of Sher Shāh, and " so had peculiar sources of information as to the life and character of that adventurous and successful chief, whose craft and valour won a crown." Dowson, however, says, " It is a biography, not a history," though he admits, " this work has fortunately preserved the means of forming a judgment of his (Sher Shāh's) character and talents." Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 305-433. Later writers like Nizāmu-d dīn and Badāunī drew largely from Sarwānī.

2. *Makhzan-i-Afghāna* of Niāmat-u-llāh (see Dorn's *History of the Afghāns,* Bk. II, pp. 80-142, pub. 1829). " Therein alone," says Qanungo, "has been preserved a faithful summary of Abbās Sarwānī's work, with the exception of its concluding chapter." (*Sher Shāh,* p. 434). See E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 70.

3. *Tārīkh-i Dāūdī of Abdu-llāh,* written in the reign of Jahāngīr. Extracts in ibid., IV, pp. 434-513. " Abdullāh,"

1. Prof. Qanungo divides the contemporary writers into (1) Afghān and (2) Non-Afghān, and points out : " This division is important because the former, owing to national sympathy and natural bias, are supposed to be friendly and even eulogistic to Sher Shāh, while the latter are either hostile, indifferent or neutral according to the circumstances under which their works were composed."—*Sher Shāh,* p. 427.

says Qanungo, "has in many cases borrowed the very words of Nizāmuddīn. Here and there he gives valuable pieces of information." (*Sher Shāh*, p. 435). It is interesting to note that this medieval chronicler wrote : '*History is not simply information regarding the affairs of kings who have passed away ; but it is a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples.*" (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 434).

NON-AFGHĀN

4. Works like the *Memoirs of Bābur, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, Humāyūn-nāma, Tazkirat-ul-Wākiāt*, etc., cited already as authorities for Bābur and Humāyūn are also valuable supplementary sources for this period and *vice versa.*

5. *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* of Nizāmud-d dīn Ahmad (see Authorities for next chapter) is valuable, as the testimony of Nizāmu-d dīn in favour of Sher Shāh has greater weight than that of Abbās Sarwānī. (Qanungo, op. cit., p. 442).

6. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* of Abdul Qādir Badāunī. "He often writes from personal knowledge and his account of the Sūr dynasty, especially of the reign of Islām Shāh, is of great importance. There is a freshness and originality in his work which we miss elsewhere." (Ibid., p. 443).

7. *Akbar-Nāma* of Abu-l Fazl "paints Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh in the same colour as the Court historians of Aurangzīb, two centuries afterwards, painted the great Marāthā hero Shivājī and his son." Nevertheless, where he praises Sher Shāh's administrative ability, as he undoubtedly does, he "is certainly more valuable than the most fulsome eulogy of Abbās." (Ibid., p. 444). The *Āīn-i Akbarī* by the same writer has some valuable references to Sher Shāh's land settlement and revenue system. "Āīns V, VI, and VII, in which minute instructions are given to the revenue officials, are based on the regulations (*qānūn*)of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh." (Ibid., pp. 444-45).

8. *Tārīkh-i Ferishta* has practically nothing new to say. "The tradition of the descent of the Sūrs from the royal

house of Ghor, which is perhaps his only original contribution, is baseless." (Ibid., p. 445).

EUROPEAN WRITERS

9. " The Portuguese under Martin Affonso De Mello first landed at Chittagong in 1533 A. D. The Portuguese Captain visited Gaur in that year when war broke out between Mahmūd Shāh and Sher Khān. In this war the Portuguese rendered great help to Mahmūd Shāh. The Portuguese historians Castenheda and others have left good accounts of the war between Mahmūd Shāh and Sher Khān and of the struggle of Humāyūn with Sher Khān. This important source of Indian history has not yet been utilized." (Ibid., p. 447).

B. SECONDARY : 1. *Sher Shāh* by Prof. Kalikaranjan Qanungo. Kar, Majumdar & Co., Calcutta 1921. He calls Sher Shāh " the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghāns."

2. *The Successors of Sher Shāh* by Nirod Bhushan Roy, Dacca (1934).

3. Erskine's *History of India,* vol. II (Humāyūn) already noticed, is according to Prof. Qanungo, within a small compass " a masterly sketch of the career of Sher Shāh. His estimate of the administrative genius of Sher Shāh (pp. 441-444) deserves credit."

4. Elphinstone's *History of India* removes several persistent errors of Persian historians.

CHAPTER IV

THE SŪR INTER-REGNUM

"This Afghān is not to be disconcerted by trifles; he may come to be a great man yet.... Keep an eye on Sher Khān. He is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead."—BĀBUR.

"Alas, that I should have attained power, only at the close of the day."—SHER SHĀH.

"It was the rare good fortune of the house of Tīmūr that they were able at last to regain their heritage of conquest, strengthened by the work of the Afghān Sher Shāh, an administrator of marked originality, who, all unwittingly built for the Mughals that structure of administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of kingship they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."[1]

In this brief statement, Prof. Rushbrooke Williams has admirably summed up the place of the Sūr Inter-regnum in the history of the Mughal Empire. Moreover, as the events of Humāyūn's first reign were inextricably connected with the fortunes of Sher Shāh, his restoration and recovery of the Empire were bound up with the misfortunes of Sher Shāh's descendants. The sad contrast between Bābur's brilliance and Humāyūn's political incapacity also finds a sharp echo in the Afghān episode; both pointing to the same moral for us, viz., the fatal incapacity of monarchical, like other, genius to transmit itself unimpaired.

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 162.

We have already followed a substantial part of Sher Shāh's career, in his triumphant duel with Humāyūn. Here must be attempted a more comprehensive study of his life and character.

A. EARLY LIFE

1. Ancestry.

'Sher Shāh was born in the reign of Sultān Bahlōl (1450-88), and they named him Farīd, writes Abbās Sarwāni in his *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī*.[1]

It was in the 'City of Victory' Hissār-Fīrōza (Delhi District) founded by Fīrōz Shāh Tughlak. The year, according to Qanungo, may have been 1486 A.D.[2]

'The grandfather of Sher Shāh, by name Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, with his son Hasan Khān, the father of Sher Shāh, came to Hindūstān from Afghānistān[3]. . . They settled in the *pargaṇa* of Bajwāra.' Later, Jamāl Khān Sarangkhānī of Hissār-Fīrōza bestowed on Ibrāhīm 'several villages in *pargaṇa* Narnaul for the maintenance of forty horsemen.' Hasan Khān entered the service of Umar Khān, *Khān-i-āzam*, who was 'counsellor and courtier of Sultān Bahōl.' Umar Khān gave 'several villages in the *pargaṇa* of Shāhābād as a *jāgīr* to Hasan Khān.' After Ibrāhīm's death Hasan Khān also received his father's *jāgīr* 'with several villages in addition to it.'

When Jamāl Khān was sent to the *subāh* of Jaunpūr by Sikandar Lodī (who had succeeded Bahlōl), he took with him

1. Abbās Khān, at the commencement of his work, states, 'I derive my information from trustworthy Afghāns, skilled in the science of history and rhetoric, who accompanied the King from the beginning of his fortunes to the end of his reign, and were employed in his confidential service. I have written also what I have well ascertained from others. Whatever was opposed to the information thus acquired, and could not stand the touch-stone of truth, I have rejected.'—(E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 305).

2. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 3. See n. 1. p. 127 below.

3. 'From a place which is called in the Afghān tongue "Sher ghari," but in the Multān tongue "Rohris." It is a ridge, a spur of the Suleimān Mountains, about 6 or 7 *kos* in length, situated on the banks of the Gumal.'—(E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 308).

Sher Shāh's father, being 'much pleased with Hasan Khān's good service,' and 'gave him in *jāgīr* the *paragaṇas* of Sasarām, Hājīpūr, and Tanda, near Benāres, to maintain 500 horse.'

2. Boyhood's Promise, 1501.

'Hasan Khān had eight sons. Farīd Khān and Nizām Khān were born of one Afghān mother;' the rest were born of slave-girls. 'Angry words often passed between Hasan and Farīd.' The latter, 'annoyed with his father, went to Jamāl Khān at Jaunpūr,' where he 'employed himself studying Arabic and the biographies of most of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the *Sikandar-Nāma*, the *Gulistān*, and *Bostān*, etc., and was also reading the works of the philosophers.' Subsequently, whenever, during his reign, learned men came to ask for a maintenance (*madad ma'ash*), he used to ask them about the *Hashia-i-Hindia*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.

'It happened after some years,[1] that Hasan Khān came to Jamāl Khān when all his kinsmen in Jaunpūr reproached him for having sent Farīd away; and they remarked that *Farīd Khān, young as he was, gave promise of future greatness;* that he bore the marks of excellence on his forehead, and that in all the tribe of Sūr there was none who possessed learning, talent, wisdom, and prudence like him; and he had qualified himself so well, that if Hasan Khān would entrust him with the charge of a *pargaṇa*, he could discharge it excellently well, and perfectly perform all his duties.'

3. Young Jāgīrdār, 1511.

When father and son were reconciled, Farīd was given charge of the two *paragaṇas* of Sasarām and Khawāspūr (in the present District of Shāhābād).[2] Even so early as this (1511), the future Sher Shāh gave unmistakable evidence of his executive abilities and genius.

1. Farīd lived at Jaunpūr up to his twenty-fifth year, from 1501 to 1511. (Qanungo, op. cit., p. 8).

2. It was a frontier march on the southern side of Bihār. To the south lay the outskirts of the Rohtās hills, then inhabited by

"*I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the district,*" he said to his father, "*and that depends on a just administration.*"

Abbās Khān further tells us, 'when he got to his *jāgīrs*, he said :—" Let all the headmen (*muqaddaman*) and the cultivators (*muzzarian*) on whose labour the prosperity of the district depends, and all the village accounts (*patwaris*) attend my presence." When they came, he summoned also the soldiery, and thus addressed them :—

"My father (*abu*) has committed to me the power of appointing and dismissing you. I have set my heart on improving the prosperity of the district, in which object also your own interests are concerned ; and by this means I hope to establish my reputation."

'When he had finished exhorting the soldiery, he turned to the peasantry and said :— "This day I give you your choice as to your mode of payment. Do whatever is most advantageous to your own interests in every possible way."

'Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent ; others preferred payment in kind (*kismat-i ghalla*). Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, and fixed the payments for measuring the fields (*Jaribana*), and the fees for the tax-collectors and measures (*muhassilana*); and he said to the *chaudharis* and headmen :—" *I know well that the cultivation depends on the humble peasants ; for if they be ill off they will produce nothing, but if prosperous they will produce much.* I know the oppressions and exactions of which you have been guilty towards the cultivators ; and for this reason I have fixed the payments for measurements and the tax-gatherers' fees,—that if you exact from the cultivators more on this account than is fixed, it may not be credited to you in making up your accounts. Be it known to you, that I will

non-Āryan semi-independent peoples. Further south were the possessions of the independent Hindū Rājā of Rohtās ; on the east was the Son river. To the west was the *pargaṇa* of Chaund, which belonged to Muhammad Khān Sūr, the future enemy of Farīd. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

take the accounts of the fees in my own presence. Whatever dues are rightly taken I will sanction, and compel the cultivators to pay them ; and I will also collect the Government dues for the autumn harvest in the autumn, and for the spring harvest in the spring ; for balances of Government dues are the ruin of a *pargaṇa*, and the cause of quarrels between the cultivators and the Government officers. *It is right for a ruler to show leniency to the cultivators at the time of measurement, and to have a regard for the actual produce ; but when the time of payment comes he should show no leniency, but collect the revenue with all strictness.* If he perceives the cultivators are evading payment, he should so chastise them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way."

'He then said to the peasantry, "Whatever matter you have to represent, bring it always yourselves to me. *I will suffer no one to oppress you.*" Having thus addressed them he dismissed them with honorary dresses, to carry on their cultivation.

'After dismissing the cultivators, he said to his father's officers, "The *cultivators are the source of prosperity.* I have encouraged them and sent them away, *and shall always watch over their conditions, that no man may oppress and injure them: for if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them.* There are certain *zamīndārs* who have been behaving contumaciously in these *pargaṇas*, who have not presented themselves at the governor's court (*makhama-i-hakim*), do not pay their full revenue, and harass the villagers in their neighbourhood—how shall I overcome and destroy them ?" They replied, "Most of the troops are with Miān Hasan ; wait a few days and they will return." Farīd said, "I cannot have patience while they refuse to come to me, and continue to oppress and injure the people of God ; do you consider what I can contrive against these rebels, and how I may chastise them."

'He ordered his father's nobles to saddle 200 horses, and to see how many soldiers there were in the *pargaṇa*, and he

sent for all the Afghāns and men of his tribe who were without *jāgīrs*, and said to them, "I will give you subsistence and clothing till Miān Hasan returns. Whatever goods and money you may get from the plunder of these rebels is yours, nor will I ever require it of you; and whoever among you may distinguish himself, for him I will procure a good *jāgīr* from Miān Hasan. I will myself give you horses to ride on." When they had heard this they were much pleased, and said they would not fail in doing their duty under his auspices. He put the men who had engaged to serve him in good humour by all sorts of favours, and by gifts of clothes, etc. and presented them also with a little money...

'Early in the morning, Farīd Khān mounted and attacked the criminal *zamīndārs*, and put all the rebels to death, and making all their women and children prisoners, ordered his men to sell them as slaves; and brought other people to the village and settled them there. When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.

'If any soldier or peasant had a complaint, Farīd would examine it in person, and carefully investigate the cause, nor did he ever give way to carelessness or sloth.

'In a very short time, both *parganas* became prosperous, and the soldiery and peasantry were alike contented. When Miān Hasan heard of this he was much pleased; and in all companies used to make mention of the prosperity of his *parganas*, the gallantry of his son, and the subjection of the *zamīndārs*.'

4. Farīd becomes 'Sher Khān,' 1519-26.

In spite of all this, however, Farīd once again lost favour with his whimsical father, and for a time sought refuge at the court of Ibrāhīm Lodī at Āgrā, under the patronage of Daulat Khān. When that prince died on the gory field of Pānīpat (April, 1526), the young adventurer went to Bahār Khān, son of Daryā Khān, who had assumed the title of Sul-

tān Muhammad.[1] 'Employing himself day and night in his business, Farīd gained Bahār Khān's favour, and became one of his most intimate friends. In consequence of his excellent arrangements, he became celebrated throughout the country of Bihār.'

One day he went out hunting with Bahār Khān, and a tiger (*sher*) having been started, Farīd Khān slew it. On account of this gallant encounter Bahār Khān gave him the title of "Sher Khān the Tiger Chief."

5. Sher Khān and the Mughals, 1527-28.

Sher Khān after this, getting help from Sultān Junaid Barlās, the Governor of Jaunpūr, sought preferment under Bābur at Āgrā.[2] There being admitted to the court, he remained for some time among the Mughals,[2] was present at the siege of Chānderī, and 'acquainted himself with their military arrangements, their modes of governing, and the character of their nobles.' "*If luck aided me,*" he is reported to have said among the Afghāns, "*and fortune stood my friend, I could easily oust the Mughals from Hindūstān.*" The Emperor Bābur, with his keen insight into human character, observed to Khalīfā, his minister, "Keep an eye on Sher Khān, he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead. I have seen many Afghān nobles, greater men than he, but they never made any impression on me; but as soon as I saw this man, it entered into my mind that he ought to be arrested, for I find in him the qualities of greatness and marks of mightiness."

1. According to Qanungo, Farīd governed his paternal estates for 7 or 8 years, from 1511 to 1518 or 1519. He went to Bahār Khān about 1522. (*Sher Shāh*, pp. 24, 31-32). Dr. Banerji has pointed out that some of Dr. Qanungo's 'dates and events' have been corrected by Dr. P. Saran in the B. & O. R. S. J. for March 1934.

2. "Just after the battle of Pānīpat the ambitious Afghān chiefs unsuccessful at home against rivals of their own race, resorted to Bābur in the hope of overcoming their domestic enemies with the help of the Mughals and gaining high positions for themselves." (Qanungo, loc. cit., p. 34).

B. CONQUEST OF EMPIRE

1. The First Step, 1529.

Sher Khān was too circumspect a man to miss the significance of this observation. So he quitted Bābur's camp at the earliest opportunity.[1] "I have no longer any confidence in the Mughals, nor they in me," he declared, "I must go to Sultān Muhammad Khān."[2] When Sultān Muhammad died, Sher Khān became the Deputy to his son Jalāl Khān, in the Government of Bihār and its dependencies, about October 1529.

The following year 1530, Sher Khān *captured the important fortress of Chunār. This may be considered the starting point of his career of aggression.* The manner in which he came by it is thus described by Abbās Sarwāni[3] :—

'Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī had entrusted the fort of Chunār to Tāj Khān Sarang Khānī, and the royal treasures were deposited in the fort. Now this Tāj Khān was altogether a slave to his love for his wife Lād Malika, who was a woman of great sagacity and wisdom. One night, Tāj Khān's eldest son (by another wife) wounded Lād Malika with a sabre, but not severely. Her servants complained to Tāj Khān, who drew his sword, and ran out to kill his son. He, perceiving that his father was about to kill him for the sake of his wife, struck his father with his sabre, and escaped out of the house. Tāj Khān died of the wound.'

Sher Khān, after this incident, cleverly ingratiated him-

1. He was there at most for 15 months, from April 1527 to June 1528, when he got back his *parganas* as a result of Bābur's eastern campaign of 934 A. H. (Ibid., pp. 44, 52-3).

2. Qanungo says, "Sher Khān joined not Sultān Muhammad Lohānī (as Abbās Sarwāni, Nizāmuddīn, Ferishta, etc., say), but Sultān Mahmūd Lodī." (Ibid., pp. 58-9).

3. 'I, the author of this history of Sher Khān, Abbās Khān Bin Sheikh Ali Sarwāni, have heard from my kindred and connexions who were great nobles and companions of Sher Khān, that he got possession of the fort of Chunār in the following manner.' For fuller details of the incident see E. & D., op., cit., IV, pp. 343-46.

self with Lād Malika and married her.[1] By this means he not only got possession of the fort, but 'she gave him a present consisting of 150 of the exceedingly valuable jewels, and 7 *mans* of pearls, and 150 *mans* of gold, and many other articles and ornaments.'

Subsequent to this, Sher Khān also got into his power and possession the *parganas* near the fort of Chunār; and further strengthened his resources by inheriting 60 *mans* of gold from Guhar Husain, the widow of Nāsir Khān.

2. First Encounter with Humāyūn—1531.

When Humāyūn had overcome Sultān Mahmūd Lodī, and put the greater number of his followers to death, at the battle of Dauroh, he sent Hindū Bég to take Chunār from Sher Khān, but the latter refused to give it up. Jauhar says, 'When the victorious army of the Mughals reached Chunār, Jalāl Khān, son of Sher Khān, and several other nobles were within the fortress; the fortress was besieged for four months. When Sher Khān saw that the fort would fall to-day or to-morrow, he made his submission and sent his own son, Kutb Khān, to the presence of His Majesty (Humāyūn) and secured peace.'[2] Thus he put off Humāyūn for the time being with clever but insincere professions of loyalty. Humāyūn withdrew and turned towards Gujarāt, with a false sense of security in the eastern provinces.

'Never were the eastern provinces rendered so submissive to the throne of Delhi after the death of Sultān Sikandar (1517) as now," writes Qanungo. "The indomitable Afghān leaders, Baban and Bāyazīd, were killed; the country on the northern bank of the Ganges from the Gūmtī to the Gandak (boundary of the kingdom of Bengal) was as tranquil as ever. On the southern bank of the Ganges the pretensions

1. "The whole story," says Qanungo, "is unskilfully got up with the object of convincing us that Sher Khān obtained Chunār by legitimate means, from its virtual mistress Lād Malika." (*Sher Shāh*, p. 71).

2. Ibid., pp. 76-7.

of Sher Khān were subdued, and he was forced to yield obedience and send his son to the imperial service. But the serpent was scotched, not killed; and this foreboded future trouble. When Humāyūn was reposing in the bed of fancied security, it recovered from the shock and gathered fresh strength. The seed of lifelong enmity was sown between the two men."[1]

3. Bihār and Bengal.

To resume Abbās Khān's narrative, 'Sher Khān took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one enemy of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihār. He also began to patronise all Afghāns. Many of them who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared *he would kill every Afghān who refused to be a soldier.* He was also very careful of his Afghāns in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. When the Afghāns heard that Sher Khān was eagerly desirous of patronising their race, they entered into his service from all directions.

'Sultān Bahādur (of Gujarāt) being defeated by Humāyūn, went towards Surat, and all the Afghāns who were in his service, whether chiefs or common soldiers, came to Sher Khān.[2]

'When Nāsir Khān (Nusrat Shāh) ruler of Bengal died, the nobles of Bengal made Sultān Mahmūd his successor;[3] but he was not able to manage the kingdom, and it fell into

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 78.

2. " When the sun of Bahādur Shāh's fortune sank down in the Arabian Sea, that of Sher Khān arose almost simultaneously out of the Bay of Bengal, and shone resplendently in the eastern horizon." —Ibid., p. 128.

3. This is a remarkable confirmation of Bābur's observation regarding the tradition in Bengal (see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 260-61). Nusrat Shāh died about December 1532, and was immediately succeeded by his son, Alāu-dīn Fīroz Shāh, who was murdered by Mahmūd Shāh soon after, in May 1533.—Qanungo, loc. cit., p. 83.

disorder. Mahmūd Shāh, nevertheless, conceived the design of conquering Bihār from the Afghāns, and accordingly despatched Kutb Khān with a large force for that purpose. Sher Khān earnestly and repeatedly remonstrated ; but Kutb Khān gave no heed to his remonstrances. Sher Khān consequently told his Afghāns, " With the Mughals on one side, and the army of Bengal on the other, we have no recourse save in our own bravery." The Afghāns replied, " Be of good cheer, for we will fight to the utmost ; we will never yield the field until we either conquer or die."

'Sher Khān having prepared for a sturdy resistance, met the enemy. A severe action ensued in which the Bengal army was defeated. . .Of the treasure, horses, elephants, etc., which fell into his hands, Sher Khān did not give any part to the Lohānīs,[1] and so he became a man of wealth. This kindled the jealousy of the Lohānī's who thereafter became the enemies of Sher Khān. They tried to bring about his fall in several ways, not excluding murder. When they were foiled in their attempts, they won over Jalāl Khān (Sher Khān's nominal sovereign) to their side, and even intrigued with their enemy the King of Bengal.

'As soon as Sher Khān heard that Jalāl Khān had gone over to the King of Bengal, he was much pleased, and said : " Now the kingdom of Bihār had fallen into my hands. I felt certain that the army of the King of Bengal would assuredly come to attempt the conquest of Bihār, and as enmity existed between the Lohānī's and myself, I feared lest the enemy should be victorious, for *the surest means of defeat are divisions in your own army*. Now that the Lohānīs are gone to Bengal, there are no quarrels in my army ; and if there be no divisions among the Afghāns, how can the Bengal army compare with

1. The Lohānīs as a tribe were the rivals of the Sūrs. Sher Khān himself stated : "The Lohānīs are a much stronger and more powerful tribe than the Sūrs ; and the custom of the Afghān is, that if any man has four kinsmen more than another, he thinks little of killing or dishonouring his neighbour."—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 335.

them in the day of battle? Even the Mughals cannot equal them. Please God, when I have dispersed the Bengal army, you will soon see, if I survive, how I will expel the Mughal's from Hindūstān."

Events showed that these calculations of Sher Khān were not wrong. 'After this Sher Khān began to strengthen himself, and enlist more men. Wherever there were any Afghāns he sent for them, and gave them any money they asked. Having collected a very large force, and made every preparation, and having gained the goodwill of his army, he placed the country of Bihār in his rear, and proceeded against the King of Bengal, "*This campaign,*" says Qanungo, "*was destined to end in one of the most decisive battles of the medieval history of India. It was a turning point in the career of Sher Shāh.*"[1] The following account of the engagement is given by Abbās Khān :—

BATTLE OF SŪRAJGARH :[2] 1534

'When one watch of the night was yet remaining, Sher Khān arrayed his forces, and brought them out of their entrenchments; and after the morning prayers, he himself came out, and said to his chiefs, "In the enemy's army there are many elephants and guns, and a great force of infantry ; we must fight them in such a manner that they shall not be able to preserve their original order. The Bengal cavalry should be drawn away from their guns and infantry, and the horses intermingled with the elephants so that their array may be disordered. I have thought of a stratagem by which to defeat the Bengālīs. I will draw up the greater part of my forces behind the cover of that height which we see, but will retain for the attack a small number of experienced and veteran horse. Now, they will fight exactly in the same manner as they did on the former occasion, without any expectation of defeat. I will bring up my selected division, who after discharging one flight of arrows on the Bengālī army, shall retreat.

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 98.

2. The site of this battle was somewhere on the banks of the Kiul river, east of Bihār town. Abu-l Fazl says that Sher Khān fought the battle at *Sūrajgarh*, on the boundary between the terri-

'The enemy is presumptuous on account of his superior force. He will think the Afghāns are beginning to fly ; and becoming eager he will leave his artillery and foot in the rear, and press on with all expedition himelf, and disorder and confusion will find their way into his order of battle. I will then bring out my force which had been concealed behind the eminence, who will attack the enemy. The Bengālī cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, are by themselves unable to cope with the Afghān horse. I hope by the favour of God that their force will be routed and put to flight."[1]

The result was just what Sher Khān had so shrewdly anticipated. 'The whole of the treasure, elephants, and train of artillery fell into the hands of Sher Khān, who was thus supplied with munitions of war, and became master of the kingdom of Bihār, and much other territory besides. *Since God, the most holy and omnipotent, had preordained from all eternity to give the kingdom of Hind to Sher Khān, and that people of the Lord should live in ease and comfort under the shadow of his justice, and that he should be a zealous and just ruler, his wealth daily increased, and the whole country gradually came into his possession.*

In the beginning of May 1535, Sher Khān again turned upon Mahmūd Shāh, and began a war of conquest of his territories on the frontier of Bihār. "This came as a complete surprise to the incapable voluptuary who disgraced the throne of mighty rulers like Hussain Shāh and Nusrat Shāh. Sher Khān's plan of campaign was one of slow, methodical conquest and annexation. His object was to wrest all the territories from Mahmūd Shāh on this side of Teliagarhi."[2] Mahmūd Shāh,

tories of the ruler of Bengal, and won a victory. Hemmed in between the Ganges on the north and the Kharagpūr hills on the south, the narrow plain of Sūrajgarh (about 5 miles in width) was indeed the most suitable place for making such a stand. Owing to its strategic situation, it has been the scene of many a decisive battle.—Ibid., pp. 99-100.

1. *Cf.* William the Conqueror's tactics at the battle of Senlac.

2. Sher Shāh was never scrupulous in the means he adopted to equip himself for the desired end of conquest ; *e.g.*, he took from Bibi

like Ethelred the Unready, bought him off for the time being with an indemnity of 13,00,000 gold pieces, even against the advice of his Portuguese allies. Encouraged by this, Sher Khān once more led a powerful army into Bengal in 1537. From the Portuguese historians we learn that Sher Khān sent his lieutenants to occupy outlying districts like Chittagong, while he himself invested Gaur, the capital of Bengal.

These activities of Sher Khān invited Humāyūn's attention towards him. Abu-l Fazl says, 'Meanwhile news came of the emergence of Sher Khān and of his commotions in the eastern provinces.... Orders were issued to make preparations for an expedition to Bengal. It was decided that Sher Khān should be put down and the territories of Bengal should be subdued.'[1]

4. Defeat of Humāyūn—1539-40.

We have already followed the course of subsequent events. Sher Khān defeated Humāyūn at Chausa, in 1539, and assumed the title of Sher Shāh ; *at the battle of Bilgrām, in 1540 Humāyūn was finally routed and expelled out of the Empire.* Here it is necessary to take note of only one incident belonging to this period, which, like the Fath Malika story, throws light upon the machiavellian character of Sher Shāh. It is the manner in which he took possession of the great fort of Rohtās :

Fath Malika the helpless widow of Bāyazīd's brother Mustafa, who had sought his refuge and protection, 300 *mans* of gold to equip his army, and gave her only two *parganas* for her support and some ready money for her immediate expenses. For details see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 352-55. "This is an indefensible act of spoliation of an helpless woman," says Qanungo, "and deserves unqualified condemnation. Even the plea of necessity, which is so often put forward to whitewash such acts, cannot be pleaded in favour of Sher Khān; because the money was not utilised in self-defence, and the case was not one of saving himself from impending ruin and annihilation. The huge armament was being equipped solely for the purpose of carrying out ambitious designs of aggression upon his neighbours. This act is one of those few which have left indelible blots upon his character." (*Sher Shāh,* p. 111.)

1. *Akbar-Nāma,* I, p. 326.

Sher Khān was in difficulties owing to the capture of Chunār by Humāyūn. 'There existed a friendly connexion between Sher Khān and the Rājā of the fort of Rohtās, and Churāman, the Rājā's *naib,* was on particular terms of intimate friendship and alliance with Sher Khān. This Churāman was a Brāhman and had formerly shown kindness to the family of Sher Khān's brother Nizām, and procured them shelter in the fort of Rohtās... On the present occasion Sher Khān wrote that he was in great straits, and that if the Rājā would give him the loan of the fort for a short time, he would be obliged to him all his days, and that when all danger was past, he would again restore the fort... Sher Khān also gave to Churāman a bribe of 6 *mans* of gold, and said, "Persuade in any way you can the Rājā to give me the loan of his fort for a few days for my family; but if he will not give it, then I will go and make my peace with the Emperor Humāyūn, and will revenge myself on everything belonging to the Rājā."....When the Rājā finally consented, Sher Khān treacherously ordered his own men, if the guards did not obey the order to leave the fort, to eject them by force.... Sher Khān placed his own guards and sentries in every part of the fort, and drove the Rājā away from the fort. In the manner thus described he got possession of the fort of Rohtās. 'The commonly received report that Sher Khān put Afghāns into *dolis* and sent them into the fort as women, is altogether erroneous and false,' writes Abbās Sarwāni; 'for I, the writer of this history,...have inquired of several chiefs and nobles who were with Sher Khān in the affair.'[1]

The strategy, whatever the details thereof, was probably justified by the importance of the place. For after taking possession of the fort, Sher Khān observed, "*The fort of Chunār is not a fort in comparison with this; as that has gone out of*

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 361 n. The rejection of the *doli* story, says Qanungo, does not in any way acquit Sher Khān of the charge of the treachery...Sher Khān's present act was certainly not a fair return for the Rājā's good services. (*Sher Shāh*, pp. 149-50.)

my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gaur as I am in getting possession of Rohtās."[1]

Sher Khān was the first Muslim conqueror of this fort; he not only secured in it a safe retreat for the Afghān families but also came into possession of the vast treasures which had been accumulated there for ages by Hindū kings. Prof. Qanungo thinks it must have come into Sher Khān's possession in March, 1538.[2]

An admirable summary of Sher Khān's relations with Humāyūn—though only from the Afghān point of view—up to the battle of Chausa, is contained in his address to his army just before that engagement. Assembling all his chiefs, he said: "I have promised peace to the Emperor Humāyūn; but I have considered that all the good service I have rendered has produced no good fruit; and after all my loyalty to him . . ., he demanded from me the fort of Chunār. When I refused to yield it, he sent a force to take it; and when that failed, he came himself to seize it by force, but abandoned his intentions when he heard that Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān had escaped from prison, and had raised a sedition in the country. Moreover Sultān Bahādur, King of Gujarāt, was coming to invade the country of Delhi and so he was compelled to return. I sent my son Kutb Khān with him throughout the Gujarāt campaign, accompanied by 500 valiant horsemen skilled in the use of the sabre. Though I could have taken possession of the country of Jaunpūr, etc., yet I did not commit any act of hostility, for the Emperor is mighty; and though I had the power, I would not do any disloyal and evil act, that the Emperor might perceive I was his faithful servant, and desist from seeking to injure me. When he returned from Gujarāt, he got his army in

1. Rohtāsgarh is situated on the upper course of the river Son in an extremely hilly and inaccessible region. Its position on the map is 83° long. and 24° lat. 'It is possibly the largest and strongest hill-fort in India', observes Qanungo. Ferishta says, 'Although the author has seen many hill-forts in India he has seen none to compare with that of Rohtās.' (Ibid., p. 151.)

2. Ibid., p. 152.

readiness, and without regarding my loyalty, did his best to expel me ; but as my fortune was great, he did not achieve his desire. I made every submission, but it was all profitless. When in violation of all his promises, he attacked Bengal, I lost all hope in his goodness, and apprehending evil from him, was compelled to declare hostilities against him, and I expelled his governors and spoiled his country as far as Sambhal, and have not left a single Mughal in those parts. Now with what hope can I conclude this peace with him ? He makes peace and manifests a friendly disposition towards me, because his army is in want of horses and cattle and of every equipment, and because his brothers have rebelled against him. He is but playing with me, and eventually will not abide by this peace ; but having appeased the rebellion of his brothers on his arrival at Āgrā, and refurnished his army, he will not fail to uproot and destroy me. *I have often experienced that the Afghāns are braver in battle than the Mughals, who only got the country from the dissensions of the Afghāns.* If my brothers advise so, I will break off the peace, and will try my fortune."

Events, as we have seen, stood by Sher Shāh's fortune. *Chausa and Bilgrām gave the Empire of Humāyūn to his Afghān rival. Bābur's wise declaration came true : 'The world is his who exerts himself.'* We must now follow the rest of Sher Shāh's brilliant career.

5. After Kanauj or Bilgrām, 1540-42.

(i) *Pursuit of Humāyūn.*—'Sher Shāh being at his ease regarding the Mughals, wrote to Suja'at Khān, whom he had left as *faujdār,* in the country of Bihār and Rohtās, to besiege the fort of Gwālior .... As soon as he received the *farmān,* Suja'at Khān went and besieged Gwālior. From Kanauj Sher Shāh despatched Barmazid Gur[1] with a large force

1. "Properly, Brahmajit Gaur," Qanungo observes ; "Hindūs were allowed to hold positions of some importance in the army. One of Sher Shāh's best generals was Brahmajit Gaur," mentioned by Jauhar and Abbās Sarwāni. "Rājāh Rām Shāh of Gwalior was another."—(Ibid., pp. 369-70)

in advance, but directed him not to hazard an engagement with the Emperor Humāyūn, and he also sent another force under Nāsir Khān towards Sambhal. Having speedily settled the country about Kanauj, he betook himself in the direction of Āgrā.

'When Sher Shāh approached Āgrā, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lāhore. Sher Shāh was greatly displeased at this, and reproached Barmazid very much, and on his arrival at Āgrā remained there for some days himself, but sent Khawās Khān and Barmazid Gur in the direction of Lāhore, with a large force to pursue the Emperor.[1]

'On arriving at Delhi, the principal men and inhabitants of the city of Sambhal came and complained that Nāsir Khān had oppressed and tyrannised over them in various ways. Sher Shāh, therefore, despatched Isā Khān, as a person endowed both with valour and justice, and placed Nāsir Khān under him. After this, Sher Shāh breathed a sigh of relief, and said, "I am now at my ease regarding the whole country from Delhi to Lucknow."

'Entrusting Mewāt to Hājī Khān, he then proceeded towards Lāhore . . . On the third march beyond Lāhore, he heard that Mīrzā Kāmrān had gone by way of the Judh hills to Kābul, and that the Emperor Humāyūn was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multān and Bhakkar. The King (Sher Shāh) went to Khushab, and thence despatched Khawās Khān. . . . and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multān. He instructed them not to engage the

1. According to Gulbadan Begam—During the three months that the Emperor was at Lāhore, word was brought day after day, "Sher Khān has advanced 4 miles, 6 miles," till he was near Sirhind. . . The Emperor sent him a Turkoman named Muzaffar Bég, with Kāzī Abdullah to Sher Khān, to say, "I have left you the whole of Hindūstān. Leave Lāhore alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me." But that unjust man, fearless of God, did not consent, and answered, "I have left you Kābul, you should go there." (Cited by Qanungo).

Emperor but to drive him beyond the borders of the kingdom, and then to return.

'The Mughal division which had quitted the Emperor, and was marching towards Kābul, encountered Khawās Khān and not being strong enough to fight, fled leaving their drums and standards behind, which fell into Khawās Khān's hands, and the Afghān army returning from that place rejoined Sher Shāh.'

(ii) *Baloch and Gakkar.*—'Sher Shāh delayed sometime at Khushab. While there Ismāil Khān, Fath Khān, and Ghāzī Khān Balochī came and waited on him . . . Sher Shāh confirmed Ismāil Khān in the country of Sind. The chiefs of every tribe and family of Roh came to wait on him ; and Sher Shāh wisely left these Baloch chiefs undisturbed in their possessions.

'Then he marched with all his forces and retinue, through all the hills of Padman and Garjhak, in order that he might choose a fitting site and build a fort there to keep down the Gakkars, in which he might leave a garrison on the Kābul road, when he himself returned. Having selected Rohtās,[1] he built there the fort which now exists, and laid waste the country of the Gakkars.'

(iii) *Bengal.*—'In the midst of this, news came from Bengal that Khizr Khān, the Governor of Bengal, had assumed the dignity of a king and defied his authority. So he set out himself for Bengal.' There, " instead of placing the whole province

1. Burns considered it one of the greatest bulwarks between Tartary and India. The imperfectly subdued Gakkars 'made a vow among themselves that no one should serve as day-labourer in the construction of the fort. If any one act to the contrary, he must be destroyed. . . Todar Mal (who later became so very famous in the reign of Akbar) complained of it to Sher Shāh, who wrote in reply, that they should go on with the building though they paid for the stone its weight in copper. The fort was completed though the expenses were enormous. Sher Shāh called it 'Little Rohtās.' The *Tārīkh-i Dāudī* calls it 'New Rohtās', and adds, that it 'cost 8 *krors*, 5 thousand, and 2½ *dāms*, which means *Bahlōlis*—all which is written over the gate of the fort.' (E. & D. op. cit., IV, p. 419 ; also Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 405-6.)

under one military governor, as had hitherto been the custom, Sher Shāh created several smaller governorships. The governors placed over these divisions were equal in status, and wholly independent of one another, in the administration of their respective areas. They were all directly appointed by him and were responsible to him alone. By this single stroke of policy, he struck at the very root of the evil of chronic rebellion."[1] He remained in Bengal for about seven months, from June 1541 to January 1542. Then he returned to Āgrā.

(iv) *Mālwā*.—In April 1542, Sher Shāh marched towards the country of Māndū by way of Gwālior, in order to take on the rulers of Māndū his revenge for their backwardness in assisting Kutb Khān.[2] At this time there were princes in the kingdom of Māndū who ruled independently. Mallū Khān who had assumed the title of king and the name of Kādir Shāh, held possession and rule of the city of Shadmābād, that is to say, the fort of Māndū, and of Ujjain, Sarangpūr, and the fort of Rantambhor.

'When Sher Shāh reached Sarangpūr, Mallū Khān came and submitted. He was much impressed with the rigour, discipline and exertions of Sher Shāh's army, and said to the Afghāns, "You submit yourselves to wonderful labours and exertions ; night and day you have no rest ; ease and comfort are things forbidden to you." The Afghāns replied, "Such is our master's custom. It behoves a soldier, whatever service his chief may order, or whatever labour or exertion he may require, not to consider it a hardship. *Ease is for women, it is shameful to honourable men.*"

'Sher Shāh assigned the country of Māndū to Suja'at Khān . . .and then returned to Āgrā, via Dhār and Rantambhor.'

1. Ibid., pp. 242-43.

2. Apart from this, Qanungo gives two more political motives : (i) To come into direct touch with the kingdoms of Gujarāt and Mewār, through which the Mughals might break into Mālwā ; (ii) to forestall the design of Maldeo in Mālwā and crush Maldeo's prospective allies before they could cause serious trouble. Ibid, pp. 252-53.

(v) *Raisin.*—From Āgrā he went towards Bihār and Bengal, where he suffered an attack of fever and ague. After recovery he once again returned to Āgrā. When he arrived there, in all the pride of his state, he set off for the country of Māndū, in the year A. H. 950 (1548 A. D.), and took the fort of *Raisin*.[1] This expedition, according to Abbās Khān, had been provoked by the oppression of Musalman families by its Rājā Puran Mal. But Prof. Qanungo definitely says, "It was not undertaken out of a religious motive to punish Puran Mal for enslaving the families of the Muslims of Chānderī, as the bigoted Muslim historians fondly believed .. No incentive of fanaticism was necessary, as the political object was a sufficient stimulant to move Sher Shāh against Raisin... One single fort unsubdued might overturn an empire, as Sher Shāh could realise by contemplating the fate of Humāyūn. So he determined to safeguard himself against unknown dangers by rooting out Rājput influence in Mālwā."[2]

Whatever might have been the motive and incentive for the attack, Puran Mal and his companions, Abbās Khān proceeds to tell us, 'like hogs at bay, failed not to exhibit valour and gallantry ; but in the twinkling of an eye all were slain. Such of their wives and families as were not slain were captured.[3] ...He made over the fort of Raisin to Munshī Shāhbaz Khān Sarwāni, and returned himself towards Āgrā, and remained at the capital during the rainy season.'[4]

1. The fort of Raisin (long. 77°. 50′ ; lat. 23°. 19′) stands on the highest hill of a detached ridge of the Vindhya Mountains, stretching north and south for about 7½ miles, along the upper course of the river Betwa. On the N. and S. two mountain streams cut off this ridge from contiguous hills, and thus add to the strength of its defence. On the east it presents a formidable front of unbroken rock-wall, 1722 to 1760 ft. in height. (Ibid., p. 284.)

2. Ibid., pp. 288-89.

3. For a full account of this incident see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 397-403 ; also Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 284-99.

4. This time, about 7 or 8 months (July 1543 to Feb. 1544, according to Qanungo) he utilised for building projects, administra-

(vi) *Multān and Sindh.*—About the same time as the fall of Raisin, Sindh and Multān were conquered by Sher Shāh's general, Haibat Khān Niāzī. The turbulent Balochīs were ever a source of danger to Multān. The conquest of these parts was of utmost importance for Sher Shāh. More than anything else it closed the route to Qandahār, via Siwi, against Humāyūn, by strengthening Sakkar and Bhakkar to which he gave the name of Shergarh. The conquest was completed by November, 1543.

(vii) *Rājputāna.*—' After the conclusion of the rains, Sher Shāh ordered that his conquering forces, beyond all calculation or enumeration,[1] should under the shadow of his victorious standards, march towards the country of Nagor, Ajmir and Jodhpūr, which belonged to Maldeo[2] the Rājā with whom Humāyūn had sought shelter in vain.

'When he arrived at Fathpūr-Sīkrī, he ordered that each division of the army should march together in order of battle, and should throw up an earthen entrenchment at every halting ground. On the way they encamped one day on a plain of sand, and in spite of every labour, they could not on ac-

tive work, but chiefly military equipment on a large scale for his coming campaign in Rājputāna. (Ibid., pp. 316-7).

1. ' Sher Shāh had so great an army, in this campaign,' says Abbās Khān, ' that the best calculators, in spite of all reflection and thought and calculation, were at a loss to number and reckon them, and they often ascended the tops of eminences that the length and breadth of the army might appear to them ; but so exceeding was its magnitude, that its whole length and breadth were never visible together and we asked old men of great age, whether they had ever seen or heard of so great an army, but they replied they had not.' —E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 404.

2. Maldeo ascended the throne of Mārwār in 1532. At his accession it was a small impoverished state of only second-rate importance. Within five or six years, however, by his shrewd policy and incessant activity, he reconquered the whole of Mārwār proper from his powerful but disobedient vassals, annexed Bikānīr, and considerably aggrandised himself at the expense of Jesalmīr, Mewār, and Amber.—(Qanungo, op. cit., 263-79.)

count of the sand, make an entrenchment. Mahmūd Khān, grandson of Sher Shāh, said : "Let my Lord order that sacks should be filled with sand, and that they should make the entrenchment with the bags." Sher Shāh was greatly delighted, and ordered that they should do likewise. When he approached the enemy, Sher Shāh contrived a stratagem ; and having written letters in the name of Maldeo's nobles to this effect, viz., "Let not the King permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle we will seize Maldeo and bring him to you" ; and having inclosed these letters in a *kharita* or silken bag, he gave it to a certain person, and directed him to go near to the tent of the *vakīl* of Maldeo, and remain there ; and when he went out, to drop the *kharita* on his way, and conceal himself.

'Sher Shāh's agent did as he was ordered ; and when the *vakīl* of Maldeo saw the *kharita* lying, he picked it up, and sent the letters to Maldeo. When the latter learned their contents, he was much alarmed, and fled without fighting. Although his nobles took oaths of fidelity, he did not heed them. Some of the chieftains, such as Jaya Chand and Goha, and others, came and attacked Sher Shāh, and displayed exceeding valour. Part of the army was routed, and a certain Afghān came to Sher Shāh, and advised him in his native tongue saying, "Mount, for the infidels are routing your army." Sher Shāh was performing his morning devotions, and reading the *Musta' abi-i' ashr.* He gave no reply to the Afghān. By a sign he ordered his horse, and mounted, when news of victory was brought to the effect that Khawās Khān had slain Jaya and Goha with all their forces. When Sher Shāh learnt of the valour and gallantry of these men, he exclaimed, '*I had nearly lost the kingdom of Delhi, for a handful of bhajra* (millet seed)."

This occurred about March, 1544. 'He left Khawās Khān and Īsā Khān Niāzī and some other chiefs in the country of Nagor, and himself withdrew. Khawās Khān founded a city in his own name, near the fort of Jodhpūr, and brought into

his power and possession the whole country of Nagor and Ajmir, the fort of Jodhpūr, and the districts of Mārwār. Maldeo went to the fort of Siwāna, on the borders of Gujarāt.' Sher Shāh, to allay misgivings, paid a flying visit to his capital, and rejoined his camp at Ajmir, about the middle of June, 1544.

Next he turned to Chitor. Mewār at this time was utterly prostrate ; she seemed to have no more blood left to shed in defence of her capital. It was one of the darkest periods in the history of Rājputāna. The bastard Banabīr, whom the disaffected nobles of Mewār had raised to the throne, had murdered the dethroned Bikramjit, and would have done the same with the infant Udai Singh, but for his nurse Panna's noble sacrifice. The boy had been installed only two years before Sher Shāh invaded. No wonder that 'when he was yet 12 *kos* from the fort of Chitor, the Rājā who was its ruler sent him the keys. When Sher Shāh came to Chitor he left in it the younger brother of Khawās Khān, Miān Ahmad Sarwāni, and Hasan Khān Khiljī. Sher Shāh himself marched towards Kachwāra, and thence to Kālinjar.

'The Rājā of Kālinjar, Kirāt Singh, did not come out to meet him. So he (Sher Shāh) ordered the fort to be invested, and threw up mounds against it, and in a short time the mounds rose so high that they overtopped the fort. The men who were in the streets and houses were exposed, and the Afghāns shot them with their arrows and muskets from off the mounds. The cause of this tedious mode of capturing the fort was this : Among the women of Rājā Kirāt Singh was a Patar slave-girl, i.e., a dancing-girl. The King had heard exceeding praise of her, and he considered how to get possession of her, for he feared lest, if he stormed the fort, the Rājā Kirāt Singh would certainly make a *Jauhar*, and would burn the girl.'

"The fortress of Kālinjar was besieged about the beginning of November, 1544 A.D. The natural strength of the fort was such as to baffle any attempt to storm it. The hill on which the fort stands has an elevation of 1230 ft. above the sea, and is isolated from the adjacent range by a chasm or

ravine about 1,200 yds. wide. The sides rise rather steeply from the plain, and in the upper part have a nearly perpendicular face of 150 or 180 ft. in height, and in most places inaccessible. The fortifications are massively constructed of large blocks of stone laid generally without cement and about 35 ft. thick."

'On Friday, the 9th *Rabiu-l awwal*, 952 A.H. when one watch and two hours of the day were over, Sher Shāh called for his breakfast, and ate with his *ulama* and priests, without whom he never breakfasted. In the midst of his breakfast, Sheikh Nizām said, "There is nothing equal to a religious war against the infidels. If you be slain, you become a martyr; if you live, you become a *ghāzī*." When Sher Shāh had finished eating his breakfast, he ordered Daryā Khān to bring loaded shells, and went up to the top of a mound, and with his own hand shot off many arrows, and said, "Daryā Khān comes not; he delays very long." But when the shells were at last brought, Sher Shāh came down from the mound and stood where they were placed. While the men were employed in discharging them, by the will of God Almighty, one shell full of gun-powder struck on the gate of the fort and broke, and came and fell where a great number of other shells were placed. Those which were loaded all began to explode. Sheikh Halil, Sheikh Nizām, and other learned men, and most of the others escaped and were not burnt; but they brought out Sher Shāh partially burnt. A young princess who was standing by the rockets was burnt to death.

'When Sher Shāh was carried into his tent, all his nobles assembled in *darbār*; and he sent for Īsā Khān Hajib and Masnad Khān Kalkapūr, the son-in-law of Īsā Khān and the paternal uncle of the author (Abbās Khān), to come into his tent, and ordered them to take the fort while he was yet alive. When Īsā Khān came out and told the chiefs that it was Sher Shāh's order that they should attack on every side and capture the fort, men came and swarmed out instantly on every side like ants and locusts; and by the time of afternoon prayers captured

the fort, putting everyone to the sword, and sending all the infidels to hell. About the hour of evening prayers, the intelligence of the victory reached Sher Shāh, and marks of joy and pleasure appeared on his countenance.

'On the 10th *Rabiu-l awwal,* 952 A. H. (22 May, 1545 A.D.) Sher Shāh went from the hostel of this world to rest in the mansion of happiness, and ascended peacefully from the abode of this world to the lofty heavens ; the date was discovered in the words *az atash murd,* he died from fire.'

It is not certain whether Sher Shāh's body was buried at Kālinjar, or removed to the grand mausoleum erected by himself at *Sasarām*—the home of his greatness.[1] He had reigned for six months as King of Bengal and Jaunpūr, and for five years as the Emperor of Hindūstān. He might have been sixty years of age at the time of his death. "Thus passed away in the mid-career of victory and beneficent activity the great soldier and statesman, with whom there appeared for the persecuted Hindūs the dawn of that era of toleration, justice, and equality of political rights, which broadened into dazzling noon on the accession of Akbar."[2]

C. SHER SHĀH'S CAPACITY

Introduction.

Sher Shāh was, according to all estimates, a man of varied talents and extraordinary genius. It would not be unfair to compare him with Henry VII in his dealings with the feudal nobility ; with Frederick William I—Prussia's greatest 'internal king'—in the care he bestowed upon both military organisation and civil administration ; with Kautalya and Machiavelli in his practical outlook and political principles ; and Aśoka in his benevolent intentions and solicitude for the welfare of all classes of his subjects. In fact, he was a combination of Bābur and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Erskine says : "Sher Shāh

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 343.
2. Ibid., p. 341.

was one of the most extraordinary men whose name appears in the history of India. His character has been represented in very different lights by different authors. As he was long the grand enemy of the house of Tīmūr, whom for a time he drove out of India, by their partisans he has been drawn in very unfavourable colours.[1] But the evidence of less prejudiced writers, and of facts, must restore to him the high praise and honourable distinction that, with all the imperfections of his character, are justly his due."[2]

(a) Personal Character.

Sher Shāh's life, whose principal events we have briefly narrated, is the best commentary on his character that any one can offer. Apart from his undoubted genius, the outstanding quality that explains his success is his capacity for incessant activity. "For," said he, "it behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their dignity and loftiness of their rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty."[3] The incentive to this was, no doubt, his great ambition; but it was an ambition conceived by his national patriotism engendered by his early studies and experience. When his father's unfair

1. E.g. Abu-l Fazl affects to deride his institutions, which he represents as a revival of those of Alāu-d dīn; nevertheless, most of them remained after the downfall of his dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author, along with many others of former sovereigns, as original conceptions of his master Akbar.—Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 457-8.

2. Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 110-11.

3. The *Wākiāt-i-Mushtāki* gives the following account of the daily routine of Sher Shāh's busy life :—

'Sher Shāh was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of night he arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers. Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the occurrences of the day. For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the Government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing, and were issued and acted upon; there was no need of

treatment drove him to Jaunpūr, he utilised the time in studying history, philosophy, and the biographies of ancient kings. 'Subsequently,' Abbās Khān informs us, 'whenever during his reign, learned men came to ask him for a maintenance, he used to ask them about the *Hashia-i-Hindia,* and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.' When he was appointed to the administration of his father's *jāgīrs,* he carried with him a high but modest sense of duty. "To please you I accept the management of the two districts. I will not fail to do my duty to the best of my power....I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the districts, and that depends on a just administration; for it has been said by the learned...." His tenure as *jāgīrdār,* short though it was, revealed his practical genius, as well as his great love for the welfare of the people entrusted to his care,—particularly the peasants. He always liked the company of the religious and the learned. Abbās Khān tells us, he never breakfasted except in the company of the *ulama.* But in moments of action, he was his own best counsel. After the Raisin expedition, he consulted his nobles of note, and the wise among his courtiers, and they said, 'It is incumbent on the powerful and fortunate to root out this innovating (*Shia*) schism from the Dekhin'; but Sher Shāh replied, "What you have said is most right and proper, but it has come into my mind....until I have cleansed the country from the existing

further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning arrived. When it was time for prayers, he performed his devotions in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he received his nobles and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the horses brought to receive their brands. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his forces, and settled the allowances of each individual by word of mouth until all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and audited accounts. Petitions were received from every quarter, and replies were sent; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to wait upon him was received in the palace.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 550-51.

contamination of the unbelievers (Hindūs), I will not go into any other country. First I will root out that accursed infidel Maldeo. . . . " 'The chiefs and nobles assented, and so it was settled.' But Sher Shāh's whole administration is a refutation of the implication of religious bigotry against the Hindūs, contained in this representation of him by our historian. The expedition against Maldeo was undoubtedly political : it was to give the Rājput a taste of his power, and to prevent any possibility of his harbouring the Mughal, as Maldeo had been inclined to do.

Instances may be multiplied to illustrate the other aspects of Sher Shāh's character. His unique sense of justice, for instance, was a part of the man himself that determined the character of his administration. But this will be illustrated later. He was above all, and essentially, a man of destiny who had faith in himself and faith in God who seemed to have marked him out for the success he achieved. After the final discomfiture and dispersal of the enemy, he returned to the Imperial tents, dismounted in the hall of audience, and humbly prostrated himself in prayer to the Giver of all Victory. " He did not now hesitate to declare a dream which he had on the preceding night. He thought that he and Humāyūn were both carried into the presence of the Prophet of God, who was sitting in state on a throne, and who, addressing the Emperor, told him that the Almighty had bestowed his kingdom on Sher Shāh ; and, at the same time, taking the crown and cap of authority from his head, placed them on that of his rival, commanding him to rule with justice."[1]

(b) Military Genius.

Genius has been defined as a happy mixture of luck, audacity, and infinite capacity to take pains. However this may be, it is particularly true with regard to military achievement. Successful generalship, as Humāyūn's failures had amply demonstrated, required many other qualities besides personal courage. Above everything else it requires shrewd insight into

1. Erskine, op. cit., II, p. 173.

human nature, resourcefulness, and a clear grasp of the real in a very mundane sense. The uniform success of Sher Shāh showed the presence in him of all these ingredients. By way of illustration, we might recall here a few instances.

(i) The resolute manner in which he brought under control the recalcitrant *zamīndārs* on his father's estates was the first evidence he gave of his consummate ability to restore order in those troubled times. 'There were some *zamīndārs* who had committed all sorts of offences, such as theft and highway robbery, and refusing to pay revenue, never came to the governor's presence, but were insolent from confidence in their numbers. Although these were often warned, they took no heed. Farīd collected his forces, and commanded that every one of his villagers who had a horse should come riding upon it, and that he who had not a horse should come on foot. And he took with him half his own soldiers, and the other half he employed in collecting revenue and other local duties.

'When the soldiers and peasants were assembled, he marched towards the villages of the recusants, and at a distance of a *kos* threw up an earthen entrenchment, and ordered them to cut down the neighbouring jungle. His horsemen he directed to patrol round the villages ; to kill all men they met, and to make prisoners of the women and children, to drive in the cattle, to permit no one to cultivate the fields, to destroy crops already sown, and not to permit any one to bring anything from the neighbouring parts, nor to allow any one of them to carry anything out of the village, and not to permit a soul to go out. His footmen he also ordered to cut down the jungle. When the jungle was all cut down he marched from his former position, and made another entrenchment nearer the village, and occupied it. The rebels were humbled, and sent a representative saying, that if Farīd Khān would pardon their fault, they would submit. Farīd Khān replied that he would not accept their submission, and there could be nothing but hostility between him and them, to whichever God might please, He would give the victory.

'Although the rebels humbled themselves in every way, and offered to pay a large sum of money, yet Farīd Khān would not accept the money, but said to his men :—" This is the way of these rebels : first they fight and oppose their ruler : if they find him weak, they persist in their rebelliousness ; but if they see that he is strong, they come to him deceitfully, and humble themselves, and agree to pay a sum of money, and so they persuade their ruler to leave them alone ; but as soon as they find an opportunity, they return to their evil ways."

'When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.'

(ii) A second instance where Sher Shāh showed his abilities as a general was when he fought the forces of Bengal. Ibrāhīm Khān the Bengalī general commanded vastly superior numbers, and possessed, besides many elephants, a park of artillery. But, Sher Khān who was a better commander made up for all these by his skill and resourcefulness. After a few days' skirmishing, he called together his men and said :—" I have for some time abstained from meeting the Bengalīs in the open field, and have kept myself sheltered under entrenchments, lest our men should be discouraged by the large numbers of the enemy. Now I am convinced that the Bengalīs are much inferior to the Afghāns in war. . . . I will now engage in open battle, for without a general engagement we cannot destroy and disperse our enemies. Praise be to God, whenever such an engagement occurs between Afghāns and Bengalīs, the Afghāns must prevail. It is impossible that the Bengalīs can stand against them. At present this is my purpose. To-morrow morning, if you concur with me, hoping in the mercy of the protector, and on this text—' By God's command the lesser number overcomes the greater,' I will engage the enemy in open battle, for it behoves us not to delay or be backward in this matter, as reinforcements will soon reach them." The Afghāns replied : " That which your noble mind has determined is extremely right."

The strategy by which he won the battle has already been described ; it was similar to that employed by William the Conqueror in the battle of Senlac, and the result identical.

(iii) The manœuvres by which Sher Shāh encompassed the ruin of Humāyūn were masterpieces of military strategy. For details the reader is referred to the descriptions of the battles of Chausa and Bilgrām, given elsewhere in this book. Although there was a uniformity in the tactics employed by Sher Shāh on both the occasions, Humāyūn was too dull to profit by experience.

(iv) To economise in his men, and not to waste them in avoidable encounters was with Sher Shāh a constant principle. This often led him to attain his ends through means too open to moral censure. The acquisition of Chunār, Rohtās, and Raisin are examples of treacherous conduct—though not infrequent in that Machiavellian age—which cast a deep shadow on Sher Shāh's otherwise fair reputation. His ruse of the forged letters in the case of Maldeo is of a piece with this unscrupulous behaviour, that sometimes passes in the name of political adroitness. Nevertheless, these actions seem to have originated chiefly from Sher Shāh's extreme reluctance to shed the blood of his own men needlessly. No wonder, therefore, that his men put their utmost trust in him. He inspired confidence in his soldiers by repeatedly telling them that 'the Mughals are not superior to the Afghāns in battle or single combat ; but the Afghāns have let the Empire of Hind slip from their hands on account of their internal dissensions.' His successive triumphs must have convinced them that he was right. He made it appear to the Afghāns that his was a national cause ; and those whom he could not otherwise induce, he compelled by conscription. 'Many of them,' Abbās Khān says, 'who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants, on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers ; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared he would kill every Afghān who refused to be a soldier. He was very care-

ful of his Afghāns in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. When the Afghāns heard that Sher Khān was eagerly patronising their race, they entered into his service from all directions.'

Prof. Qanungo writes : "He was one of the most humane conquerors....In spite of his severity, no general was more beloved of his soldiers. His personal magnetism was great, which animated his soldiers and made them cheerfully perform their onerous duties. After a hard day's march the soldiers were not allowed to rest before throwing up redoubts round their encampment. They implicitly submitted to all hardships, not as the slaves of an Oriental despot but as the comrades of an adored commander....Originality and boldness of plan, rapidity of movement, and an eye for strategic situations characterised Sher Shāh's campaigns. He was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and had no passion for fight. He had above all, a heart which soldiers and statesmen often lack. He could feel for the misfortune of his enemy : we are told that tears burst out of his eyes when the Mughal queen with a multitude of ladies came out of the camp and stood suppliant before him (after, Humāyūn's defeat at Chausa)."[1]

(c) Administrative Ability.

Prof. Qanungo has described Sher Shāh as "the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghāns".[2] A careful examination of the administrative system that he established within his dominions and its abiding effects, in an otherwise chaotic age, would go to show that there is little exaggeration in the use of this superlative. Those who plead want of time in the case of Bābur will find in Sher Shāh's constructive achievement a convincing refutation of their apology for Bābur's lack of administrative genius. Abu-l Fazl's observation that he introduced some of the many plans of Alāu-d

1. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 411-14.
2. Ibid., Foreword, p. iii. Also read Jaffar, op. cit., pp. 56-66 ; and C. H. I., IV. pp. 55-57.

dīn Khiljī of which he had heard 'as they are detailed in the *Tārīkh-i Fīrōzshāhī*, does scant justice to Sher Shāh's political originality.[1] But more than any detail of civil or military organisation which he might have borrowed from earlier kings, the spirit that informed his marvellous regime forms the basis of his enduring fame. Crooke's estimate in this respect is therefore nearer the mark: "He was the first Musalman ruler," he says, "who studied the good of his people. He had the genius to see that the government must be popularised, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindūs must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration, that the land revenue must be settled on an equitable basis, that material development of the country must be encouraged. . . . All this and more Akbar strove to do later on. . . . Sher Shāh relaxed the oppressive Muhammadan law code and provided for the administration of justice. That he introduced such extensive reforms in his short reign of five years is a wonderful proof of his executive ability. 'No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathān,' as Keene says."[2]

'For an elaborate treatment of Sher Shāh's administration the reader is directed to Prof. Qanungo's exhaustive study (*Sher Shāh*, chapter xii, pp. 346-406). Here we subjoin an abstract of the concluding portion of the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* of Abbās Khān Sarwāni, with critical observations wherever necessary :—

Prologue : "When fortune gave into the hands of Sher Shāh the bridle of power, and the kingdom of Hind fell under his dominion, he made certain laws, both from his own ideas and by extracting them from the works of the learned, for securing relief from tyranny, and for the repression of crime and villainy ; for maintaining the prosperity

1. "Unlike his predecessors, Sher Shāh gradually built up from below a solid structure of Government, whose base was co-extensive with the area of his Empire."—Qanungo, op. cit., p. 351.

2. *Memoirs of the Races of the N. W. Provinces*, II, p. 97 ; cited by Qanungo.

of his realms, the safety of the highways, and the comfort of merchants and troops. "Crime and violence," he said, "prevent the development of prosperity. It behoves kings to be grateful for the favour that the Lord has made His people subject to them, and, therefore, not to disobey the commandments of God.

Personal Attention :

'Sher Shāh attended to every business concerning the administration of the kingdom and the revenues, whether great or small, in his own person. So he divided both day and night into portions for each separate business and suffered no idleness to find its way to him. "For," said he, "it behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their own dignity and loftiness of their own rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty, and must place no undue reliance on their ministers.... The corruption of ministers of contemporary princes was the means of my acquiring the worldly kingdom I possess. A king should not have corrupt *vakīls* or *wazīrs*; for a receiver of bribes is dependent on the giver of bribes; and one who is dependent is unfit for the office of *wazīr*, for he is an interested personage; and to an interested person loyalty and truth in the administration of the kingdom are lost."

Administration of Justice :

'Sher Shāh was adorned with the jewel of justice, and he oftentimes remarked: "*Justice is the most excellent of religious rites, and it is approved alike by the kings of infidels and of the faithful.*"

'When the young shoot of Sher Shāh's prosperity came into bearing, he always ascertained the exact truth regarding the oppressed, and the suitors for justice; and he never favoured the oppressors, although they might be his near relations, his dear sons,[1]

1. Erskine gives the following anecdote to illustrate Sher Shāh's impartial administration of justice, irrespective of personalities :—

'One day, his eldest son Adel Khān, riding on an elephant through the streets of Āgrā, in passing a house, the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of a shop-keeper, undressed and bathing. Struck with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a *bīdā* (*pān*), and passed on. The woman, being thus treated as a wanton, feeling her honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her intention. He went straight to the levee of Sher Shāh, and among other suitors, preferred his complaint. The King, having investigated the circum-

his renowned nobles,[1] or of his own tribe ; and he never showed any delay or lenity in punishing oppressors. He appointed courts of justice in every place.[2]

'He strictly impressed on the *āmils* and governors, that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the *muqaddams* of the surrounding villages, and compel them to make it good ; but if the *muqaddams* produced the offenders, or pointed out their haunts, the thieves and highway robbers themselves were punished with the penalties laid down in the holy law. And if murders should occur, and the murderers were not discovered, the *āmils* were enjoined to seize the *muqaddams*, as detailed above, and imprison them and give them a period within which to declare the murderers. If they produced the murderer, or pointed out where he lived, they were to let the *muqaddam* go, and put the murderer to death ; but if the *muqaddams* of a village where the murder had occurred could not do this they were themselves put to death ; for it has been generally ascertained that theft and highway robberies can only take place by the connivance of these headmen. . . If a *muqaddam* harbours thieves and robbers unknown to the governor, it is fit he should be punished, or even be put to death, that it may be a warning to others to abstain from similar acts.

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stances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced ; and that the shop-keeper, mounted on an elephant, should in his turn throw *bīdā* to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. *Such* he said, *was the law of their religion, and, in administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant* : that it should not be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The complainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now that he had gained his right, his character was restored and he was satisfied ; and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended.'—Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 444-45.)

1. See E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 425-32.

2. Criminal justice was administered by the *Chief Shiqdār* and revenue disputes settled by the *Chief Munsif.* No historian tells us, says Qanungo, anything about the appointment of the *mīr-i-adals* or the *qāzīs* for trying civil cases requiring the knowledge of Muslim canon-law. In an anecdote of the *Tārīkhi-i Dāudī* (MS. p. 204) we find the only allusion to *mīr-i-adal* and *qāzī.* This was undoubtedly a continuation of an old institution, developed by Sultān Sikandar Lodī.—*Sher Shāh*, p. 399.

Collection of Revenue:

'The rules for the collection of revenue from the people and for the prosperity of the kingdom, were after this wise :—

'There was in every *pargana*, one *amīr*, one God-fearing *siqdār*, one treasurer, one *kārkūn* to write Hindī, and one to write Persian[1] ; and he ordered his governors to measure the land every harvest, to collect the revenue according to the measurement, and in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator, and half share to the *muqaddam* ; and fixing the assessment with regard to the kind of grain, in order that the *muqaddams* and the *chaudharīs*, and *āmils* should not oppress the cultivators, who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom.

'Before his time it was not the custom to measure the land, but there was a *qanungo* for every *pargana*, from whom was ascertained the present, past, and probable future state of the *pargana*.[2]

'In every *sarkār* he appointed a chief (*Siqdār-i-siqdāran*) and a *Chief Munsif* (*Munsif-i-munsifan*), that they might watch over the conduct of both the *āmils* and the people ; that the *āmils*, should not oppress or injure the people, or embezzle the King's revenue ;

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1. The *pargana* was the administrative unit—the smallest that he could find without destroying the autonomous village communities. (The use of this term is a bit confusing ; it has been used in Abbās Khān's narrative, as we have seen, to signify a district. At other places, it is also used for a village.)

Amīr, amīn, and *āmil*—are all used for the same official. He was a civil officer whose duties were the assessment and collection of revenue, and to act as an umpire between the State and the individual.

The *siqdār* was a soldier, and military or police officer. He was to execute *farmāns*, to assist the *amīns* in revenue collection, if necessary and to maintain the King's peace generally.

For fuller details see Ibid., pp. 352-53.

2. The earlier Muslim rulers of Delhi considered themselves as proprietors of the soil, and as such, entitled to the whole produce of the land, leaving only just enough for the maintenance of the peasant. There was no fixity of the State demand ; the revenue was generally assessed in the gross by guess or computation. Alāu-d dīn Khiljī first devised the scheme of *Jarib* (survey and assessment). He demanded 'half of the produce of the land without any diminution' (E. & D., op. cit., III, p. 182). The license of the Muslim soldiery and the exactions of the Hindū *muqaddams*, were the bane of the peasants. The fief-holders and the soldier-lords wielded almost absolute political authority over their tenants.

and if any quarrel arose among the *āmils*, regarding the boundaries of the *parganas*, they were to settle that no confusion might find its way amongst the King's affairs.

'If the people, from any lawlessness or rebellious spirit, created a disturbance regarding the collection of the revenue, they were so to eradicate and destroy them with punishment and chastisement that their wickedness and rebellion should not spread to others.'[1]

Transfer of Officers :

Every year, or second year, he changed his *āmils*, and sent new ones, for he said, "I have examined much, and accurately ascertained that there is no such income and advantage in other employments as the government of a district. Therefore, I send my good old experienced loyal servants to take charge of districts, that the salaries, profits, and advantages, may accrue to them in preference

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Under Sher Shāh, lands were surveyed under an uniform system of mensuration. He ordered the use of the *gaz-Sikandarī* (32 digits). The land was measured by rope,—for which later on Akbar substituted the bamboo,—into *bhigas*. The terms *bhiga* and *jarib* were interchangeable ; one *jarib* or *bhiga* consisted of 3,600 sq. *gaz*. (*Āīn*., II, p. 62). The holding of every *rayat* was separately measured and ¼ of the expected produce was assessed as the government revenue. As the custom under previous Sultāns, the cultivator was given the choice of payment either in kind or cash, preference being given to the latter. A *kabuliyat* or agreement, containing a short account of the *rayat's* holding, and the amount to be paid by him to Government, was taken by the *amīn* from every individual *rayat*, duly signed and attested ; and he gave in return a *patta* or title-deed to the *rayat*, with a record of the State demand.

"Sher Shāh regarded the interests of the ruler and the *rayat*, as identical. 'If a little favour is shown to the *rayat*, the ruler benefits by it.' His general instruction to the revenue officers was—'Be lenient at the time of assessment, but show no mercy at the time of collection.' His revenue system, popularly known as *Todar Mal's bandobast*, obtained in Northern India throughout the Mughal period, and in all its essential features has survived in British India under the name of the *rayatwārī-settlement*, admired so enthusiastically by the Anglo-Indian administrators." Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 370-79.

1. The duties of the *Chief Siqdār* resembled those of the *Faujdār* under the Mughals, and discharged functions as under Sikandar Lodī. Though a military noble, with a police force of 2,000 to 5,000 troops under him, he was essentially a civil officer like a modern magistrate.

to others; and after two years I change them, and send other servants like to them, that they also may prosper, and that under my rule all my old servants may enjoy these profits and advantages, and that the gate of comfort and ease may be opened to them.

As with the civil so with the military, he observed this rule of equi-distribution of profits and of labour. Abbās Khān writes: 'And in every place where it served his interests, he kept garrisons. After a time he used to send for the forces which had enjoyed ease and comfort on their *jāgīrs*, and to send away in their stead the chiefs who had undergone labour and hardships with the victorious army.

Military Organisation:

'His whole army was beyond all limit or numbering, and it increased every day. The rule regarding the army for guarding the kingdom from the disturbances of rebels, and to keep down and repress contumacious and rebellious *zamīndārs*, so that no one should think the kingdom undefended, and therefore attempt to conquer it, was as follows:—

'Sher Shāh always kept 150,000 horse, and 25,000 footmen, either armed with match-locks or bows, present with him, and on some expeditions took even more with him. There were also 5,000 elephants in his elephant-sheds. And in every place where it served his interests he kept garrisons; *e.g.*, in the fort of Gwālior he kept a force to which were attached 1,000 match-lock men. In Bayāna he kept a division, besides a garrison of 500 match-locks; in Rantambhor another division besides 1,600 match-lock men; in the fort of Chitor, 3,000 match-lock men; in the fort of Shadmābād or Māndū was stationed Suja'at Khān with 10,000 horse and 7,000 match-locks. He had his *jāgīrs* in Hindia and Mālwā. In the fort of Raisin a force was stationed together with 1,000 artillery men; and in the fort of Chunār, another force also with 1,000 match-lock men; and in the fort of Rohtās, near Bihār, he kept Ikhtiyār Khān Panni, with 10,000 match-lock men: and Sher Shāh kept treasures without number of reckoning in that fort... (Similarly, at Nagor, Jodhpūr, Ajmir, Lucknow, Kālpī, etc.). The kingdom of Bengal he divided into parts, and made Kāzī Fazilat *Amīr* of that whole kingdom.

Prof. Qanungo observes that to Sultān Alāu-d dīn Khiljī belongs the credit of organising the Indian army on a new model. He created

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The word *munsif* means 'doer of justice'; the *Chief Munsif* seems to have also acted as a circuit-judge for trying civil suits, and redressing the grievances of the peasants and *muqaddams* at the hands of *pargaṇa* officials.—(Ibid., pp. 354-57.)

an army recruited directly by the central government, paid in cash from the State treasury, officered by nobles of the Sultān's own choice, while corruption was checked by the *dāgh* (branding) system. The armies of the Lodīs were of the clannish feudal type, consisting of the quotas of various tribal chiefs enjoying *jāgīrs* for service. Sher Shāh revived the system of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī and transformed the army into a truly Imperial institution. The soldier obeyed his immediate commanding officer, not as his personal chief, but as the Emperor's servant. The Emperor combined in himself the functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the Pay-Master-General.[1] . . In order to take away from the military character of the administration, Sher Shāh took care that in normal times of peace, the military should remain in the background, only as the support of the civil authority.[2]

Branding of Horses :

'Among the rules which Sher Shāh promulgated, is the branding of horses. And he said he ordered it on this account, that the rights of the chiefs and soldiers might be distinct, and that the chiefs might not be able to defraud the soldiers of their rights ; and that every one should maintain soldiers according to his rank (*mansab*) and not vary his numbers. "For," said he, " in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and afterwards, I observed that many base nobles were guilty of fraud and falsehood, who at the time their monthly salary was assigned to them, had a number of soldiers ; but when they had got possession of their *jāgīrs*, they dismissed the greater number of their men without payment, and only kept a few men for indispensable duties, and did not even pay them in full. Nor did they regard the injury to their master's interests, of the ingratitude of their own conduct ; and when their lord ordered a review or assembly of their forces, they brought strange men and horses, and mustered them, but the money they put into their own treasuries. In time of war they would be defeated from paucity of numbers ; but they kept the money, and when their master's affairs became critical and disordered, they, equipping themselves with this very money, took service elsewhere ; so, from the ruin of their master's fortunes, they suffered no loss. When I had the good fortune to gain power, I was on my guard against the deceit and fraud of both soldiers and chiefs, and ordered the horses to be branded, in order to block up the road against these tricks and frauds, so that the chiefs could not entertain strangers to fill up their ranks." Sher Shāh's custom was this that he would not pay their salary unless the horses were

1. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 361-63.
2. Ibid., p. 353.

branded, and he carried it to such an extent that he would not give anything to the sweepers and women servants about the palace without a brand, and they wrote out descriptive rolls of the men and horses and brought them before him, and he himself compared the rolls when he fixed the monthly salaries and then he had the horses branded in his presence.

Roads and Sarais :

'For the convenience in travelling of poor travellers on every road at a distance of two *kos*, he made a *sarai* : and one road with *sarais* he made from the fort which he built in the Punjāb to the city of Sunārgāon, which is situated in the kingdom of Bengal, on the shore of the ocean. Another road he made from the city of Āgrā to Jodhpūr and Chitor, and one road with *sarais* from the city of Lāhore to Multān. Altogether he built 1,700 *sarais* on various roads ; and in every *sarai* he built separate lodgings, both for Hindūs and for Musalmans, and at the gate of every *sarai* he placed pots full of water, that anyone might drink ; and in every *sarai* he settled Brāhmans for the entertainment of Hindūs, to provide hot and cold water, and beds and food, and grain for all their horses ; and it was a rule in these *sarais*, that whoever entered them received provision suitable to his rank, and food and litter for his cattle, from Government.

'Villages were established all round the *sarais*. In the middle of every *sarai* was a well and a *masjid* of burnt brick ; and he placed an *imām* and a *muazzim* in every *masjīd*, together with a custodian (*shahna*), and several watchmen ; and all these were maintained from the land near the *sarai*.

'On both sides of the highway Sher Shāh planted fruit-bearing trees, such as also gave much shade, that in the hot wind travellers might go along under the trees ; and if they should stop by the way, might rest and take repose. If they put up at a *sarai*, they bound their horses under the trees.[1]

1. "These roads and *sarais*," observes Qanungo, "were as it were the arteries of the Empire. They were halting stations for the constantly moving officials ; some of them developed into centres of busy market-towns, where the peasants could profitably sell their agricultural produce and get in return little commodities of comfort. . . .

"The *sarais* of Sher Shāh were also the stations of *Dāk-chauki*. He kept his finger on the pulse of the Empire by means of this institution. . . . This was the origin of the News Department under the *Darogha-i-dāk-chauki* appointed by the Mughals. It was first introduced by Sultān Alāud-dīn Khiljī. (By means of this) daily reports of prices and occurrences in the *parganas* of his dominion reached him every day."—(Ibid., pp. 391-95.)

Spies and Informers :

'At every *sarai* were placed two horses for the news reporters. So there were 3,400 horses, in all the *sarais* together, always ready to bring intelligence every day from every quarter. For the enforcement of the regulations which he had established for the protection of the people, Sher Shāh sent trusted spies with every force of his nobles, in order that, inquiring and secretly ascertaining all circumstances relating to the nobles, their soldiers, and the people, they might relate them to him ; for the courtiers and ministers, for purposes of their own, do not report to the King the whole state of the kingdom, lest any disorder or deficiency which may have found its way into the courts of justice should be corrected.

Merchants and Travellers :

'In the days of Sher Shāh and of Islām Shāh, the *muqaddams* used to protect the limits of their own villages lest any thief or robber or enemy might injure a traveller, and so be the means of his destruction and death. And he directed his governors and *āmils* to compel the people to treat merchants and travellers well in every way, and not to injure them at all ; and if a merchant should die by the way, not to stretch out the hand of oppression and violence on his goods as if they were unowned ; for Sheikh Nizāmī (may God be merciful to him !) has said : "If a merchant should die in your country, it is perfidy to lay hands on his property."

'Throughout his whole kingdom Sher Shāh levied customs on merchandise only in two places, *viz.*, when it came from Bengal, customs were levied at Gharri (Sikri gali) ; and when it came from the direction of Khorāsān, the customs were levied on the borders of the kingdom ; and again a second duty was levied at the place of sale. No one dared to levy other customs, either on the road or on the ferries, in town or village.[1] Sher Shāh, moreover, forbade his officials to purchase anything in the *bazārs* except at the usual *bazār* rates and prices.

Protection of Cultivators :

'One of the regulations Sher Shāh made was this : That his victorious standards should cause no injury to the cultivation of the people and when he marched he personally examined into the state of the cultivation, and stationed horsemen round to prevent people from trespassing on anyone's field. If he saw any man injuring a field, he would cut off his ears with his own hands, and hanging the corn (which he had plucked off) round his neck, would have him

1. "Sher Shāh's reconstruction of the tariff system revived the dwindling commerce of Northern India."—(Ibid., p. 386.)

to be paraded through the camp. And if from the narrowness of the road, any cultivation was unavoidably destroyed, he would send *amīrs*, with a surveyor, to measure the cultivation so destroyed, and give compensation in money to the cultivators. If he entered an enemy's country, he did not enslave or plunder the peasantry of that country, nor destroy their cultivation. "For," said he, "the cultivators are blameless, they submit to those in power, and if I oppress them they will abandon their villages, and the country will be ruined and deserted, and it will be a long time before it again becomes prosperous."

Charities :

'His kitchen was very extensive, for several thousand horsemen and private followers, fed there ; and there was a general order, that if any soldier or religious personage, or any cultivator, should be in need of food, he should feed at the King's kitchen, and should not be allowed to famish. The daily cost of these meals was 500 gold pieces (*ashrāfis*). Sher Shāh often said : "It is incumbent upon kings to give grants to *imāms ;* for the prosperity of and populousness of the cities of Hind are dependent on the *imāms* and holy men ; and the teachers and travellers, and the necessitous, who cannot come to the King, will praise him, being supported by those who have grants ; and the convenience of travellers and the poor is thereby secured, as well as the extension of learning, of skill and religion, for whoever wishes that God Almighty should make him great, should feed the *ulāmā* and pious persons, that he may obtain honour in this world and felicity in the next."

Buildings :

"Sher Shāh left the indelible impress of his personality," writes Qanungo, "not only upon the useful but also on the ornamental side of the imperial edifice. His noble tomb at Sasarām still brings home to the mind of the beholder the grandeur of the Empire,—severe yet graceful ; externally Muslim, but Hindū inside."[1] V. A. Smith observes : "The mausoleum of Sher Shāh at Sasarām, built on a lofty plinth, in the midst of a lake, is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among the earlier buildings in the northern provinces for grandeur and dignity. Cunningham was half inclined to prefer it even to the Tāj. The dome, although not equal in size to the Gol Gumbaz of Bījāpūr, is 13 ft. wider than that of the Āgrā monument. Externally the architecture is wholly Muhammadan, but Hindū corbelling and horizontal architraves are used in all the inner door-ways, as at Jaunpūr. The style may be described

1. Ibid., p. 399.

as intermediate between the austerity of the Tughlak buildings and the faminine grace of Shāh Jahān's masterpiece."[1] Havell saw in it the personality and character of Sher Shāh : "Though forbidden by his creed to make himself a graven image, the Musalman monarch took so much interest in the planning of his last resting place, that unconsciously he gave it the impress of his own character, the builders formed it after his own image. . . ."[2]

"If my life lasts long enough," said Sher Shāh, "I will build a fort in every *sarkār*, on a suitable spot, which may in times of trouble become a refuge for the oppressed and a check to the contumacious ; and I am making all the earthen-work *sarais* of brick that they may also serve for the protection and safety of the highway." So he built the fort of Rohtās, on the road to Khorāsān to hold in check Kāshmīr and the country of the Gakkars, about 60 *kos* from Lāhore, and fortified and strengthened it exceedingly. There was never seen a place so fortified, and immense sums were expended upon the work. He called that fort *Little Rohtās.*

'The former capital city of Delhi was at a distance from the Jumnā, and Sher Shāh destroyed and rebuilt it, by the bank of the Jumnā, and ordered two forts to be built in that city, with the strength of a mountain, and loftier in height ; the smaller fort for the governor's residence ; the other, the wall round the entire city, to protect it ; and in the governor's fort he built a *jāmā masjīd* of stone, in the ornamenting of which much gold, *lapis lazuli* and other precious articles were expended. But the fortifications round the city were not completed when Sher Shāh died.

'He destroyed also the old city of Kanauj, the former capital of the kings of India, and built a fort of burnt brick there ; and on the spot where he had gained his victory, he built a city, and called it *Sher Sūr*. I can find no satisfactory reason for the destruction of the old city, and the act was very unpopular,' writes Abbās Sarwāni.

Epilogue :

'From the day that Sher Shāh was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe in opposition to him : nor did any one raise the standard of contumacy or rebellion against him ; nor was any heart-tormenting thorn produced in the garden of his kingdom, nor was there any of his nobles or soldiery, or a thief or a robber, who dared to direct the eye of dishonesty to the property of another ; nor did any theft or robbery even occur within his dominions. Travellers and wayfarers during the time of Sher Shāh's reign were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch ; nor did they fear to halt even in the midst of

1. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 405-6.
2. *History of Āryan Rule in India*, p. 444.

a desert : and the *zamīndārs* for fear lest any mischief should occur to the travellers, and that they should suffer, or be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shāh's rule, a decrepit old woman might place a basketful of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of the punishment which Sher Shāh inflicted. Such a shadow spread over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a Rustom. During his time all quarrelling, disputing, fighting, and turmoil, which is the nature of the Afghāns, was altogether quieted and put a stop to, throughout the countries of Roh and of Hindūstān. Sher Shāh, in his wisdom and experience, was a second Haider. In a very short period, he gained the dominion of the country, and provided for the safety of the highways, the administration of the Government, and the happiness of the soldiery and people. God is a discerner of righteousness !'

So closes Abbās Khān Sarwāni's account of Sher Shāh. It is well to close our study of the great Afghān with a few modern estimates of him.

SOME MODERN ESTIMATES

E. B. Havell.

" Sher Shāh showed brilliant capacity as an organiser, both in military and civil affairs. By dint of indefatigable industry and personal attention to the smallest details of administration, he restored law and order throughout Hindūstān in the short space of five years. And no doubt the long-suffering, law-abiding ryot was grateful to the iron-handed Afghān for an interval of comparative peace, and for protection against indiscriminate plunder, though he might sometimes sigh for the golden days when even Sūdras were Āryan free-men, and the laws of the village Assemblies were respected even by the King of kings and Supreme Lord of the Five Indies." (*Āryan Rule in India*, pp. 441-42.)

William Erskine.

" He rose to the throne by his own talents, and showed himself worthy of the high elevation which he attained. In intelligence, in sound sense and experience, in his civil and financial arrangements, and in military skill, he is acknowledged to have been by far the most eminent of his nation, who ever ruled in India. . . . Sher Shāh

had more of the spirit of the legislator and guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar."—(*History of India*, pp. 441, 443.)

Mountstuart Elphinstone.

"Sher Shāh appears to have been a prince of consummate prudence and ability. His ambition was always too strong for his principles,... but towards his subjects, his measures were as benevolent in their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign, and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and he introduced many improvements in his civil government." (*The History of India*, p. 357.)

H. G. Keene.

"His brief career was devoted to the establishment of the unity which he had long ago perceived to be the great need of his country. Though a devout Muslim, he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. His progresses were the cause of good to his people instead of being—as is too often the case in India—the occasions of devastation....It is a welcome task to take note of such things as a break in the long annals of rapine and slaughter, and we can do so without hesitation; for the acts of Sher Shāh are attested by his enemies, writing when he was dead, and when his dynasty had passed away for ever." (*History of India*, I, pp. 98-9 Rev. ed.)

V. A. Smith.

"Sher Shāh was something more than the capable leader of a horde of fierce Afghāns. He had a nice taste in architecture, manifested especially in the noble mausoleum at Sasserām (Sahasrām) in Bihār which he prepared for himself... He also displayed an aptitude for civil government and instituted reforms, which were based to some extent on the institutions of Alāu-dīn Khiljī and were developed by Akbar .... He reformed the coinage, issuing an abundance of silver money, excellent in both fineness and execution. That is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Sher Shāh had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Mughals' would not have appeared

on the stage of history." (*The Oxford History of India*, pp. 327-29.)

H. L. O. Garrett.

"Few men have crowded more into the short space of five years than this able and conscientious man." (Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 18.)

Ishwari Prasad.

"In spite of the limitations which hampered a sixteenth century king in India, he brought to bear upon his task the intelligence, the ability, the devotion of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century in Europe." (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 334.)

Kalikacharan Qanungo.

"The accession of Sher Shāh marked the beginning of that era of liberal Islām which lasted till the reaction of Aurangazeb's reign....Sher Shāh may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation.... The work of Sher Shāh's administrative genius did not perish with his dynasty, but lasted throughout the Mughal period with some inevitable changes due to the greater expansion of the empire. It forms the substratum of our present administrative system. The modern magistrate and collector of British India is the official successor of the *Shiqdāri-shiqdāran* of Sher Shāh, and the *tahsīldār* that of the *āmil* or *amīn*.... The revenue and currency systems which prevailed in India with very little modification down to the middle of the XIX century were not the achievements of Akbar but of Sher Shāh." (*Sher Shāh*, pp. 415, 420, 360, 347.)[1]

Sher Shāh's Coinage.

"Sher Shāh's reign constituted an important test point in the annals of Indian coinage, not only its specific mint reforms, but also as correcting the progressive deteriorations of the previous kings, and as introducing these many reforms which the

1. Cf. Sri Rama Sharma, *The Administrative System of Sher Shāh*, I. H. Q., XII, 4 (1936).

succeeding Mughals claimed as their own."—(Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 403.)

" Sher Shāh is entitled to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency which lasted throughout the Mughal period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835, and is the basis of the existing British currency. He finally abolished the inconvenient billon coinage of mixed metal, and struck well-executed pieces in gold, silver, and copper, to a fixed standard of both weight and fineness. His silver rupees, which weigh 180 grains, and contain 175 grains of pure silver, being thus practically equal in value to the modern rupee, often have the king's name in Nāgarī characters in addition to the usual Arabic inscriptions."—(V. A. Smith, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii, pp. 145-6.)

" His coins also illustrate the rapidity with which he conquered the countries settled under his rule. The land survey, construction of roads, and establishment of mint towns seem to follow almost in the wake of his conquering armies."—(Qanungo *Sher Shāh*, p. 383.)

III. SHER SHĀH'S SUCCESSORS

Introduction.

The genealogy at the commencement of this chapter gives the names and order of succession of the principal successors of Sher Shāh ; but, apart from the first, namely Salīm or Islām Shāh, hardly any interest attaches to the rest. For they were mere rivals fighting over the already broken bits of Sher Shāh's kingdom. They have little bearing on the history of the Mughal Empire except as revealing in detail the nature of the situation that enabled Humāyūn to recover his lost patrimony. Few text-books dealing with the period mention even their names. But, the Sūr Inter-regnum, although a mere episode in the history of the Mughals in India, still has a value for us as containing in a nut-shell, as it were, the same lesson that is more elaborately illustrated by our principal theme. As Keene says, " It is the misfortune of absolute monarchy that the best rulers can never

ensure a worthy successor." Sher Shāh's sovereignty was assumed by persons who were labouring under the usual trials of princes born for power which they had done nothing to acquire. Sher Shāh himself, as we have seen, more than once attributed the loss of Afghān dominion to their dissensions. When the strong hand restraining them was removed, the old contentiousness of the Afghān nobility sprang up again. The whole period of Salīm's reign was consumed in intrigues and fruitless quarrels ; and on his death in November 1554, his son was murdered and a scene of confusion ensued. "The native Muslims fell into such a state of quarrelsome imbecility that the chief command fell into the hands of a Hindū chandler named Hemū."[1]

(A) SALIM SHĀH AND FIRŌZ SHĀH

1. Salīm Shāh Sūr.

Abdulla, author of *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī*, writes :—' It is related in the *Akbar Shāhī*, that when Sher Shāh rendered up his life to the angel of death in Kālinjar,....the nobles perceived that as Ādil Khān (Sher Shāh's eldest son) would be unable to arrive with speed (from Rantambhor), and as the State required a head, they despatched a person to summon Jalāl Khān who was nearer (in the town of Rewan, in the province of Bhata). He reached Kālinjar in five days, and by the assistance of Īsā Hajjab and other grandees was raised to the throne near the fort of Kālinjar, on the 15th of the month *Rabiul awwal,* 952, A. H. (25th May, 1545 A. D.). He assumed the title of Islām Shāh, and this verse was engraved on his seal :

"*The world, through the favour of the Almighty, has been rendered happy.*

Since Islām Shāh, the son of Sher Shāh Sūr, has become king."[2]

1. Keene, op. cit., I, p. 99.

2. His fort at Delhi is still called *Salīmgarh* ; but on his coins he is *Islām Shāh.* Ferishta writes, 'Jalāl Khān....ascended the throne,.....taking the title of *Islām* Shāh, which by false pronunciation is called *Salīm* Shāh, by which name he is more generally known.' —Briggs, II, pp. 126-27; E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 478-79, n. 1.

'After ascending the throne,' continues Abdulla, 'and inquiring concerning the ordinances of Sher Shāh, he left some as they were, and changed others to suit his own ideas.' He was an improver, like his father, observes Elphinstone, "but rather in public works than in laws."[1] Other writers look upon his regulations as "silly and nonsensical, devised chiefly with the object of reversing his father's policy, and establishing a name for himself as a legislator. Islām Shāh was desirous of showing the world that he also had 'his own thunder'."[2] But a statement of these reforms and enactments will speak for itself. Badāunī, whose account is given below, says, 'These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Salīm Shāh, and the compiler of this history (*Tārīkh-i-Badāunī*) witnessed the scene above described, when he was of tender age, that is, in the year 955 A. H., when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend His grace to him !) to the camp of Farīd Taran, commander of 5,000 horse which was then pitched in the district of Bajwara, a dependency of Bayāna.'

Salīm Shāh's Regulations :

'Salīm Shāh in the beginning of his reign issued orders that as the *sarais* of Sher Shāh were two miles distant from one another, one of similar form should be built between them for the convenience of the public ; and that a mosque and a reservoir should be attached to them, and that vessels of water and of victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindū, as well as Muhammadan travellers. In one of his orders he directed that all the *madad-ma'sh* and *aima* tenures in Hindūstān which Sher Shāh had granted, and all the *sarais* which he had built and the gardens he had laid out, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits.

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 459.

2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 480 n. 2. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Islām Shāh had all the faults of the Afghāns, from which Sher Shāh was free. See C. H. I., IV, p. 63.

'He took away from the nobles all the dancing-girls maintained in their courts, according to the common practice of India. He also took from them all their elephants, and let none of them retain more than a sorry female, adapted only for carrying baggage. It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He resumed and placed under immediate management of the State, the lands enjoyed by the troops, and established pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Sher Shāh.

'Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, and fiscal, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as guides to the officials of the State, *whether they were in accordance with the Muhammadan law or not*; a measure which obviated the necessity of referring any of these matters to *Kāzīs* and *Muftīs*.

'In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the nobles in command of 5, 10, or 20 thousand horse were ordered to assemble every Friday in a large tent, within which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Salīm Shāh's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. They then bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks; first of all the officer in command of the troops, and then the *munsif*, or *amin*, and so on; after which with due respect and obeisance, they took their respective seats, when a secretary coming forward read to them the whole of the circular instructions above referred to, which filled about 80 sheets of paper. Every difficult point then at issue within the province was decided according to its purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the King, who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well as on his family.'[1]

1. Ibid., V, pp. 486-87.

Character of Administration.

The real character of Salīm Shāh's administration is perhaps best represented by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* : 'Islām Shāh,' writes Abdulla, 'resembled his father in his pomp and splendour, and in his desire for dominion and conquest. He possessed great power, ability and good fortune, and he had an immense number of horses and elephants, and a numerous artillery, together with a multitude of horse and foot soldiers beyond all calculation. On the day of his accession to the throne, he ordered two months' pay to be distributed in ready money to the army : one month of this he gave them as a present ; the other as subsistence money.[1] Moreover, he resumed all the *jāgīrs* in the provinces of his government, and allowed their holders a stipend in money from his treasury instead. To those who had received stipends during the reign of Sher Shāh he gave lands and *parganas*. During the time of Sher Shāh, a place had always been established in the royal camp for the distribution of alms to the poor. Instead of this, Islām Shāh directed that arrangements for the giving of alms should be made at each of the *sarais*, and that indigent travellers should be supplied with whatever they needed, and that mendicants should receive a daily pittance, in order that they might be contented and at peace. He had, whilst Prince, 6,000 horsemen with him, and he now promoted all of them : He made privates officers, and officers nobles. These regulations of Islām Shāh caused those of Sher Shāh to fall into disuse. Many of Sher Shāh's principal nobles were disgusted at what they regarded as acts tending to dishonour them, and became ill-disposed towards Islām Shāh. He, in his turn, was likewise suspicious of these grandees, and thus *the relations which existed between the great chiefs and the King were changed in their nature.*'[2]

1. This was more than counter-balanced by long arrears of pay later on ; e.g. see Ibid., p. 489.
2. Ibid., IV, pp. 479-80.

Revolts and Disturbances :

'Islām Shāh was a monarch of treacherous and vindictive disposition. When he secured power in his own hands, he dissimulated loyalty to his elder brother, 'Ādil Khān, who had been nominated Sher Shāh's heir-apparent. "Because I was near and you were distant," he wrote to 'Ādil Khān, "to prevent disorder in the State, I have taken charge of the army until your arrival. I have nothing to do but obey you, and attend to your orders." (How like Aurangazīb later on!) His real object was to get rid of his brother during the perfidious interview for which he soon summoned him.

'Ādil Khān proceeded to meet his brother after being doubly assured as to his safety. 'Islām Shāh, intending treachery towards his brother, had given directions that only two or three persons were to be allowed to enter the fort with Ādil Khān. When they arrived at the gate of the fort of Āgrā, Islām Shāh's men forbade their entry ; to this Ādil Khān's people paid no attention, and a great number of them went in with 'Ādil Khān!' Ahmad Yādgār says, five or six thousand of 'Ādil Khān's men, armed with swords, forced their way into the fort, in defiance of all attempts to exclude them.[1]

'Ādil Khān was a man who loved ease and comfort. He was aware of the deceit and cunning of Islām Shāh. So he preferred to retire to the *jāgīr* of Bayāna, which was assigned to him. Even there he was not allowed to be at peace. Islām Shāh made an attempt to secure his person. 'The latter however,' says Ferishta, 'having timely information of the design, fled to Mewāt, where Khawās Khān then resided, and acquainted that chief with tears in his eyes, of his brother's baseness. Khawās Khān, whose honour was concerned, roused with indignation, seized Ghāzī Mahally (Islām Shāh's agent), and went into open rebellion. Khawās Khān's character was so high, that by writing letters to the nobles of the court, he gained many partisans, and accompanied by the prince 'Ādil Khān, he marched towards Āgrā. . . . (But) although his troops behaved with great bravery, he was overthrown by Salīm Shāh. After the action, the prince 'Ādil Khān fled, in the first instance, to Patna; but, soon after disappearing, was never again heard of ; the insurgent chiefs were obliged to retreat among the Kumaon hills, but only for a time.'[2]

1. Ibid., pp. 481-82.
2. Briggs, II, pp. 129-31.

After these events, Islām Shāh became mistrustful of all his nobles, and took measures to overthrow them. He put some of them in prison and deprived others of all their possessions. He also placed his own nephew, Mahmūd Khān, the son of 'Ādil Khān under surveillance, and ruined, first Kutb Khān Sūr, then Barmazid Sūr, Jalāl Khān Sūr, and Zain Khān Niāzi. He slew Jalāl Khān Sūr, as well as his brother, by binding them to the feet of an elephant, after which he caused the aforesaid nobles to be placed on the elephant, and paraded through the camp. The hearts of the nobles of Sher Shāh were filled with terror and consternation. After this he put many others to death, amongst whom was Khawās Khān, who bore the title of Masnad Alī, who was impaled on some frivolous pretext. He continued for a long time to distress the whole of his subjects, and to make God's servants miserable ; but towards the end of his reign he behaved towards the people with liberality and generosity.'[1]

Conclusion.

What has been said should suffice to illustrate the character of Salīm Shāh's reign. There were other rebellions and disturbances, principally of the Niāzis under Āzam Humāyūn, and the Gakkars under Sultān Ādam Gakkar (who delivered Kāmrān into the hands of Humāyūn). To the last, Salīm Shāh was engaged in reducing these disorders. In the course of these troubled years, more than one attempt was made on his life. 'Certain nobles desired to place Mubāriz Khān, (who possessed the title of Adali) on the throne."[2] As the rebellious Niāzis declared : "*No one obtains a kingdom by inheritance ; it belongs to whoever can gain it by the sword.*"[3] 'Islām Shāh was informed of the treason of these people, and immediately endeavoured to assemble them in one place, and there punish them. The chiefs being warned of his intention, met together, and entered into an agreement not to present themselves at the *darbār* all at once, but to go one by one. Islām Shāh was day and night thinking and planning how he might best put them to death. But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels, and he was suddenly taken

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 485.
2. Ibid., p. 496.
3. Ibid., p. 487.

ill and confined to bed in the fort of Gwālior (which had been long his favourite residence).....He summoned (his wife) Bībī Bāi, and said, "I have the reigns still in my hands, and have as yet lost nothing. If you desire your son to reign after me, tell me to do it, and I will cause your brother Mubāriz Khān to be removed." On this Bībī Bāi began to weep. Islām Shāh said, "You know best!" And then suddenly as he was speaking he gave up the ghost in the twinkling of an eye, and departed to the next world in the year 961 A. H. (November, 1554). Many of the troops who were not aware of the King's illness, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of his decease, were much perturbed and distressed, as it threw their affairs into confusion. His body was taken from Gwālior, and deposited at Sasarām, near that of his father.'[1]

2. Fīrōz Shāh Sūr :

Ferishta narrates the sequel thus :—Salīm Shāh 'was succeeded by his son, the Prince Fīrōz, then twelve years of age, who was placed on the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Sūr at Gwālior. He had not reigned three days, when Mubāriz Khān, the son of Nizām Khān Sūr (Sher Shāh's brother—see Genealogy), at once the nephew of the late Sher Shāh, and brother-in-law of Salīm Shāh, assassinated the young Prince, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Mahmūd Shāh Ādil....On the third day after the death of Salīm Shāh, Mubāriz Khān, having entered the female apartments, slew with his own hand the unhappy Prince, whom he dragged from the arms of his mother, Bībī Bāi, his own sister.' When her husband had always insisted upon getting rid of her brother, Mubāriz Khān being too dangerous for the Prince, she had always replied, "My brother is too fond of dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the load of anxiety which belongs to a King."[2] But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels!'

1. Ibid., pp. 504-5.
2. Briggs, II, pp. 141-142.

The Mahdī Episode:

Among the forces that created disturbance in the reign of Islām Shāh, one deserves special and separate treatment; it is with regard to a peculiar religious movement led by one Sheikh Alai. Its doctrines as well as the religious aspects of the reigns of the first two Sūrs will be recalled with interest when we consider the subject of Akbar's religious reforms. 'Among the most extraordinary events of this reign,' writes Ferishta, 'is the insurrection produced by Sheikh Alai. The story is as follows:—

'The father of Sheikh Alai was Sheikh Hasan, who professed himself to be a holy man in the town of Bayāna; but he adopted opposite tenets to those of Sheikh Salīm of Sīkrī. Sheikh Hasan dying was succeeded by his eldest son, Sheikh Alai, a person as remarkable for his ambition as for his learning. He imbibed the Mahdī or Mahdavī doctrines of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī, and with a considerable number of adherents, abandoning all wordly pursuits, gave himself up wholly to devotion, under the firm conviction of predestination. He preached daily with such persuasive eloquence, that many persons, becoming riveted to the spot, would not quit him, and abandoning their families became converts to his doctrines, and ranged themselves among the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī, the founder of the sect; so that in some instances, men employed in agriculture or trade made vows to devote one-tenth of their receipts to charity and to religious purposes. Several instances happened where fathers abandoned their children, sons their fathers, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, and devoted themselves to worship and retirement from the world; it being a principle among the sect to divide in common among their brethren all they possessed or received in charity. In cases where the members of the sect got nothing for two or three days, they have been known to fast, resigning themselves entirely to their fate without complaint. It was their practice to go armed, and in every instance where they saw any person doing what they considered contrary to the holy law, they warned him to abstain; but if he persisted, they used to attack and put him or them to death. Many of the magistrates, themselves being *Mahdavīs*, connived at these proceedings, and those who even did not approve, were afraid to check and to punish them.'[1]

When Sheikh Alai went to Khawāspūr, which is in the Jodhpūr territory, Khawās Khān came to meet him, and joined him. 'When Islām Shāh heard of these events, he summoned him (Alai) to his

1. Briggs, II, pp. 138-39.

presence. The Sheikh perceived that the King was attended by a select party of his nobles; nevertheless, he did not behave as it is becoming to do in the presence of royalty. He merely made the customary salutation, at which the King was displeased. The courtiers were very wrath at this conduct. Mulla Abdulla Sultānpūrī, who was entitled Makhdumu-l Mulk, opposed the doctrines of Sheikh Alai, and decreed that he should be imprisoned. Islām Shāh assembled a great number of the learned, and directed them to enquire into the matter. Sheikh Alai's great eloquence enabled him to overcome all his opponents in argument. Islām Shāh said, "O Sheikh, forsake this mode of procedure in order that I may appoint you (*muhtasib*) Censor of Morals of all my dominions. Up to the present time, you have taken upon yourself to forbid without my authority; henceforth you will do so with my consent. Sheikh Alai would not agree to this. When he was sent to Hindia, Bihār Khān Sarwāni joined him with all his troops. Islām Shāh again summoned the Sheikh from Hindia, and this time ordered a larger assembly of Mullas than the former to meet and investigate his doctrines. Makhdumu-l Mulk said, "This man desires to rule the country, he wishes to attain the rank of *Mahdī*, and the *Mahdī* is to rule the whole world. The entire army of His Majesty has taken part with him; it is very likely that in a short time this country will be much injured." Islām Shāh, for the second time sent Sheikh Alai into Bihār. There Sheikh Alai fell ill. When they brought him before Islām Shāh he was too weak to speak. Islām Shāh whispered in his ear, and advised him to confess that he was not the *Mahdī*, in order that he might be pardoned; but Sheikh Alai would not listen to what the King said. His Majesty, losing all hopes of persuading him, ordered him to be scourged, and he rendered up his soul to the angel of death at the third blow, in the year 956 A. H. (1549 A.D.). It is commonly reported that Sheikh Alai repeated a stanza in the presence of Islām Shāh, and said, "If you desire to comprehend my motives for these actions, meditate on this verse of Sheikh Auhadu-d din Kirmani :

"I have one soul and a thousand bodies,
But both soul and bodies belong entirely to me.
It is strange I have made myself another."[1]

"The doctrine of the expected *Mahdī*, is based on certain alleged prophecies of the Prophet regarding the advent of a *mujaddid*, or restorer of the faith. The movement seems to have had its origin in Badakhshān, beyond Afghānistān, and to have spread from there

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 502-4.

over Persia and India. The doctrine was closely connected with the completion of the first thousand years of the Muslim era, so that in the last century preceding the close of the first millennium, the learned everywhere in India were discussing the question. Finally, the movement took on a definite form through the teaching of one Mīr Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr, in the latter part of the 15th century A. D.

"The *Mahdī* movements have been characterized by features that are significant. They have been led by men of education, who have possessed great oratorical power as preachers, and could draw multitudes to them. Secondly, they assumed a definitely hostile attitude towards the learned men who held office at the Emperor's court. Thirdly, they undertook to be reformers of Islām, being mujaddids."[1]

(B) THREE KINGS

1. Mahmūd Shāh Adali.

Mubāriz, after the murder of his nephew, ascended the throne of Sher Shāh and assumed the title of Mahmūd Shāh Ādil. But his character soon changed his self-styled epithet of '*Ādil* (the just), into first, *Adali* (the foolish), and then into *Andhali* (blind). Elphinstone remarks, "His character was not such as to efface the memory of his crime; he was grossly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as despicable from his incapacity as he was odious for his vices."[2] One illustration from Ferishta may be here cited :—'Having often heard much in praise of the munificence of former kings, particularly of Mahomed Tughlak, and mistaking prodigality for liberality, he opened the treasury, and lavished riches on all ranks without distinction. As he rode out he discharged amongst the multitude golden-headed arrows, which sold for ten or twelve rupees each. This wanton extravagance soon left him without any of the treasure of his predecessors.'[3] When he had nothing of his own to give, he resumed the governments and *jāgīrs* of his nobles, and bestowed them on

1. Titus, *Indian Islām*, pp. 106-9.
2. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 460.
3. Briggs, II, p. 144.

his favourites ;[1] 'among whom, one Hemū, a Hindū shop-keeper, whom his predecessor, Salīm Shāh, had made superintendent of the markets, was entrusted with the whole administration of affairs. The King in the meantime, heedless of what passed, spent his time in excess among the inmates of his harem. This naturally created him enemies among the Afghān chiefs, who, having conspired against his life, revolted from his authority. The King became daily more and more despicable in the eyes of his subjects, while all regularity in the Government ceased.'[2]

2. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr.

Under these chaotic circumstances, the more ambitious among the nobles and princes tried to feather each his own nest. Tāj Khān Kirāni, for instance, openly declared, "that affairs had taken such an extraordinary turn at Court, that he was determined to push his own fortune". His rebellion obliged the King to take the field in person, and go in his pursuit towards Chunār. Taking this opportunity, Ibrāhīm Khān, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, 'raised a considerable army, and getting possession of the city of Delhi ascended the throne, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. From thence he marched to Āgrā, and reduced the circumjacent provinces... Mahmūd Shāh Adali, finding himself betrayed, fled to Chunār, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrāhīm Khān retained possession of the western territory.'[3]

3. Sikandar Shāh Sūr.

Ibrāhīm Khān no sooner ascended the throne of Delhi than another competitor arose in the Punjāb in the person of the Prince Ahmad Khān, another nephew of the late Sher Shāh, whose sister was married to Mahmūd Shāh Adali. Ahmad Khān, having procured the aid of Haibat Khān and other chiefs, who had been created nobles by the late Salīm Shāh, assumed the

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 461.
2. Briggs, op. cit.
3. Ibid., pp. 146-47.

title of Sikandar Shāh, and marching with 10 or 12 thousand horse towards Āgrā, encamped at Kurra, within twenty miles of that city. Ibrāhīm Khān opposed him with 70,000 horse, but nevertheless was defeated. He then, abandoning his capital, retreated to Sambhal, while Sikandar Khān took possession both of Delhi and Āgrā. He had not long enjoyed his good fortune, however, when Humāyūn advanced into the Punjāb to recover his dominion, with what consequence we have already witnessed. After his defeat at Sirhind he fled to the Siwālik mountains, from whence he was expelled, and sought refuge in Bengal, where he assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.[1]

(c) FAILURE OF THE SŪR DYNASTY

A last flicker of hope had been roused among the Afghāns, when Sikandar, having ascended the throne at Āgrā, held a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to this effect :—" I esteem myself as one of you : having thus far acted for the commonweal, I claim no superiority. Bahlōl raised the tribe of Lodī to glory and reputation ; Sher Shāh rendered the tribe of Sūr illustrious ; and now Humāyūn the Mughal, heir to his father's conquests, is watching for an opportunity to destroy us all, and re-establish his government. If, therefore, you are sincere, and will set aside private faction and animosities, we may still retain our kingdom ; but if you think me incapable of rule, let an abler head and a stronger arm be elected from among you, that I also may swear allegiance to him : I promise most faithfully to support him, and will endeavour to maintain the kingdom in the hands of the Afghāns, who have retained it by their valour for so many years." The Afghān chiefs, after this appeal, answered with one accord : " We unanimously acknowledge you, the nephew of our Emperor Sher Shāh, our lawful sovereign." Calling then for the *Korān*, all swore both to observe allegiance to

1. Ibid., p. 153.

Sikandar, and to maintain unanimity among themselves.' But, in a few days, Ferishta tells us, 'the chiefs began to dispute about governments, honours, and places, and the flames of discord were rekindled, and blazed fiercer than ever, so that every one reproached his neighbour with the perfidy of which each was equally guilty.'[1]

The other members of the Sūr family did not fare better than Sikandar. When he was fighting against the Mughals, the other Sūrs, instead of joining hands with him to repel their common enemy, were fighting among themselves. Ibrāhīm Khān marched to Kālpī, while at the same time Mahmūd Shāh Adali detached his vazīr Hemū, with an army well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chunār, with a view to recover the western Empire. Hemū attacked Ibrāhīm Shāh at Kālpī, and having defeated him, he was compelled to fly to his father (Ghāzī Khān) at Bayāna, pursued by Hemū who besieged him in that city for three months. Meanwhile, the ruler of Bengal—also a Sūr—led his army against Adali and obliged Hemū to return hastily. Emboldened by this Ibrāhīm pursued him to Āgrā ; but being again defeated once more retired to Bayāna. After some adventures in Bundelkhand, which had become independent under Bāz Bahādur, he fled to Orissa, where he suffered an ignominious death during the reign of Akbar. Mahomed Shāh Sūr of Bengal took refuge in Bundelkhand, but being pursued by Hemū was soon slain. 'Mahmūd Shāh Adali, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Āgrā, returned to Chunār, to assemble more troops in order to carry on the war against Humāyūn ; but he was soon after informed of that monarch's death, which induced him to detach Hemū, with 50,000 horse, and 500 elephants towards Āgrā, not daring to leave Chunār himself, on account of the faction which prevailed among his countrymen the Afghāns.'[2] The rest of the

1. Briggs, II, p. 153.
2. Ibid., pp. 148-51.

story belongs naturally to the reign of Akbar. After the defeat and death of Hemū, Mahmūd Shāh's fortunes declined rapidly. Khizr Khān, the next ruler of Bengal, avenged himself for his father's death, by wresting a great part of the eastern provinces out of the hands of Adali, whom he eventually defeated and slew.

This sudden and sharp denouement of the promising and glorious epoch, opened by the dramatic successes of Sher Shāh, appears to have been equally marked by a sad and devastating famine. Badāunī gives the following description of the plight of the people who had already suffered enough from the chaotic conditions incidental to constant warfare :—' At this time a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in Āgrā, Bayāna, and Delhi, so that one seer of grain (*jwāri*) rose to 2½ *tankas,* and even at that price could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties, and even in greater numbers, and found neither coffin nor grave. Hindūs perished in the same numbers. The common people fed upon the seeds of the thorny *acacia* upon dry herbage of the forest, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, swellings rose on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the words *khashm-i-izad* : " wrath of God." The author with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. What with scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities.'[1]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 490-91.

GENEALOGY

Mah Begam | HUMĀYŪN | *Hamīdā Begam*

Muhammad Hakīm | Jalālu-d dīn Muhammad AKBAR |

Jodh Bāi (1)
Salīm (Jahāngīr)

Salīmā Begam (2)
Murād

Daulat Shāh (3)
Dāniyāl

Note—Akbar had other wives and children, but they are not relevant here.

AUTHORITIES

A PRIMARY : (i) The *Āīn-i Akbarī,* by Abu-l Fazl Allami—translated from the original Persian ; vol. i, Calcutta, 1873, by H. Blochmann, contains biographies of officials, compiled from various sources ; vol. ii, 1891, and vol. iii, 1894, by H. S. Jarrett (include 'The Happy Sayings of His Majesty'). The whole is invaluable for the account of Akbar's administrative system.

(ii) *The Akbar-Nāma* or 'History of Akbar,' by Abu-l Fazl, translated from the Persian, by Henry Beveridge. It comes down to the early part of 1602, or the end of the 46th year of Akbar's reign. It was brought to an abrupt close by the murder of its author in that year. "The historical matter in Abul Fazl's book," observes V. A. Smith, "is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, an unblushing flatterer of his hero, sometimes conceals, or even deliberately perverts, the truth (*e. g.*, the dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his naming ; and the account of the capitulation of Asīrgarh). Nevertheless, the *Akbar-Nāma,* notwithstanding its grave and obvious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of the rival books by Nizāmu-d dīn and Badāunī, and it brings the story on to a later date than they do."

(iii) The *Tārīkh-i Badāunī* or *Muntakhabu-t Tawārīkh* (tr., E. & D., op. cit., V. pp. 428-549) has already been noticed. Smith says, "Badāunī's interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor's life-time, and could not be published until after

Jahāngīr's accession. The book being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunnī,......gives information.... which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors." However, it is needless to add, it must be used with great caution.

(iv) The *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, by Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, (also called *Tārīkh-i Nizāmī*) has also been already noticed. It comes down only to the 39th year of Akbar's reign, A. D. 1593-4 (A. H. 1002). The author, Khwājā Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad was the Chief Bakshī under Akbar, and died at Lāhore in Oct. 1594. "The book," says Smith, "is a dry, colourless chronicle of external events... It omits all mention of many matters of importance, and needs to be cautiously read...The book was much used by Ferishta and later compilers, and in its jejune way is a particularly good specimen of Muslim chronicle-writing."

(v) *Ferishta,* already noticed. He was also called Muhammad Kāsim Hindū Shāh, and was born about A.D. 1570. Smith considers Briggs' the best translation (*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India,* 1829)—Calcutta ed. 1908, vol. ii, pp. 181-282. 'Briggs represents his original with freedom, but in the main, as far as I have seen, with truth.' (Jarrett). Ferishta based his work on earlier books like the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī,* on tradition, and on personal experience. "He is generally considered the best of the Indian compilers....His account of Akbar's reign has little independent value although, so far as the later years are concerned, he wrote as a contemporary who had taken a small personal share in the Emperor's transactions in the Deccan." (Smith).

(vi) *Various other works,* extracts from which are to be found in translation in E. & D., op. cit., vols. V and VI, may be only briefly noticed here. They are—

1. The *Wikaya, or Hālat-i Asad Beg,* an interesting and candid account of the later years of Akbar's reign, by an official who had been long in Abu-l Fazl's service.—E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 150-74.

2. The *Zubdatu-t Tawārīkh,* by Sheikh Nuru-l Hakk—includes the only distinct notice given by any Muhammadan historian of the terrible famine which desolated N. India for three or four years from A. D. 1595 to 1598.—Ibid. pp. 189-94.

3. The *Tārīkh-i Alfi,* compiled by Maulānā Ahmad and others, by Akbar's order issued in 1582 (A. H. 990)—includes description of the sieges of Chitor and Rantambhor.—Ibid., V., pp. 157-76.

4. The *Akbar-Nāma,* by Sheikh Illāhādād Faizī Sirhindī —contains the official version of the fall of Asīrgarh.—Ibid., VI., pp. 116-46.

5. The *Tārīkh-i Salātīn-i Afghāna,* written about 1595, by Ahmad Yādgār, is a good authority for the battle of Pānīpat (1556) and the connected events up to the death of Hemū.—Ibid., V, pp. 58-66.

6. The *Wākiāt,* by Abu-l Faizī, the elder brother of Abu-l Fazl—contains a letter concerning negotiations with the Deccan states.—Ibid., VI, pp. 147-49.

7. The *Tuzak-i Jahāngīrī* or *Memoirs* of Jahāngīr etc.—Ibid., pp. 256-452.

8. The *Ma'asiri Jahāngīrī,* by Khwājā Kamgar Ghairat Khān, a contemporary official—contains the proceedings of Jahāngīr previous to his accession.—Ibid., pp. 441-44.

JESUIT SOURCES

It is not possible here to give even a mere catalogue of all the Jesuit authorities, which are to be found in many European languages, some published, many awaiting publication. The few that are named below are those most frequently cited, and considered indispensable for a study of particularly Jesuit relations with the Great Mughal. For a more detailed account of these sources, the reader is directed to V. A. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul,* Bibliography, pp. 466-71 ; and Sir Edward Maclagan's more recent (1932) work *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul,* Ch. I, pp. 5-19.

(i) The earliest printed authority for the Missions, Smith points out, with the exception of the *Aunuæ Literæ* for 1582-3 in the British Museum, is the very rare little tract in Italian by John Baptist Peruschi. It was printed at Rome in 1597, and later French, German, and Latin translations also appeared.

(ii) The chief of the Jesuit histories, bearing on the subject of the Missions, Maclagan says, is that by Father Guzman, (written in Spanish) based on (a) published works ; (b) letters from the Fathers ; and (c) personal enquiries. It brings the story up to 1599. It was first published in 1601, " This history constitutes an excellent authority." (Maclagan.)

(iii) Father Guerreiro's Portuguese work " is for practical purposes a continuation of Guzman's history, and is, like that work, an authority of high importance." It covers the period from 1600 to 1608, and was published in five volumes. " The book is a rare one, but copies of all five volumes are in the British Museum." (Ibid.)

(iv) " All writers on the subject of the Jesuit Mission," says Smith, " must rely chiefly on the great work by Father Pierre du Jarric. . . . Du Jarric is a thoroughly conscientious and accurate writer who reproduces faithfully the substance of the original letters of which considerable portions remain unpublished." The original French edition published in 1611 brings the narrative down to 1600. Its third part, which is very valuable, was published in 1614. It contains " the true account of the fall of Asīrgarh, hitherto unnoticed by modern historians, with one partial exception, and presents the most authentic existing narrative of the Emperor's last days, and fixes the date of his death as October 27, new style, or October 17th, old style." (Smith).

(v) " One of the most useful Jesuit publications, and one slightly more accessible than most of the others, is the compilation by Father Daniel Bartoli, S.J., originally printed in 1663. It gives a long list of early authorities on the life of Aquaviva. It does not deal with the later Missions. It is

based on the writings of Monserrate, Peruschi, and others and is well written." (Ibid.)

Other Europeans

(i) "The only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominions, and to have recorded his impressions to any considerable length is Ralph Fitch, who left England in 1583 and returned in 1591....Fitch proceeded to Bengal, Burma, and other lands, which he described in meagre notes." His account is found in '*Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India, etc.*' (Unwin, London, 1899).

(ii) For other travellers and writers, who really refer to times following the death of Akbar, and contain no first-hand impressions of the Emperor, see Smith, op. cit., Bibliography, pp. 471-76. He deals with Purchas, Terry, Roe, De Laet, Herbert, Manrique, Mandelslo, Bernier, and Manucci.

B. Secondary : (i) *The Emperor Akbar*, by Annette Beveridge is a translation of the German '*Kaisar Akbar*' by Von Noer; but with additions, corrections, and notes (Calcutta, Thacker, 1890). It is the only considerable modern work, says Smith, devoted solely to Akbar's reign, and in spite of its many defects is of value.

(ii) *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Meherjee Rānā*, by the late Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1903) is a fully documented discussion of Akbar's relations with the Parsees.

(iii) *The Army of the Indian Mughals, Its Organisation and Administration*, by William Irvine (Luzac, 1903). It "is an extremely careful although dry presentation of the subject, based on close study of a large number of Persian works, printed and manuscript. Irvine's book gives all the essential information about the army of Akbar, and is indispensable for a right understanding of the *mansabdār* system." (Smith).

(iv) *Akbar and the Jesuits*, by C. H. Payne (1916) contains a translation of Du Jarric with valuable notes, and covers the period down to the death of Akbar, 1605.

(v) *Mughal Administration,* by Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta, 2nd ed., 1924).

(vi) *Akbar,* by Col. G. B. Malleson (Oxford, 1908).

(vii) *Akbar the Great Mogul,* by V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1917).

(viii) *Akbar,* by Lawrence Binyon (Peter Davies, London, 1932)—though not an authority is an interesting work, more sympathetic and fair to its subject than many another.

(ix) *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul,* by Sir Edward Maclagan (Burns Oates, London, 1932) is the most recent and exhaustive study of the subject it deals with.

Note.—For other sources like literature, art, numismatics, etc., see Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul,* pp. 481-86. Also ib. pp. 1-7, for a more succinct and appreciative statement of all the sources.

(x) *Mahārāṇā Pratāp* by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A., (Lahore).

(xi) *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī* by V. S. Bendrey (Poona, 1933).

CHAPTER V

RESTORATION OF EMPIRE

" Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets."—SIR WILLIAM SLEEMAN.

" The competent scholar who will undertake the exhaustive treatment of the life and reign of Akbar will be in possession of perhaps the finest great historical subject as yet unappropriated."—V. A. SMITH.

1. PRINCIPAL EVENTS (1556-1605)

(a) BIRTH AND ACCESSION

i. We have already taken note of the following statement by Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad regarding the birth of Akbar :—

' Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor (Humāyūn), by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th *Rajab*, 949 (15th, October 1542).[1] Tardī Bég Khān conveyed this intelligence to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amarkot, and the Emperor under spiritual guid-

1. V. A. Smith gives a slightly different date : " The child having been born on the night of the full moon (*Shaban* 14, A.H. 949), equivalent to Thursday, November 23, 1542, the happy father conferred on the son the name or title Badru-d dīn, meaning ' the Full Moon of Religion ', coupled with Muhammad, the name of the Prophet, and Akbar, signifying ' very great'." (*Akbar*, p. 14.) He also makes the following observation with regard to the place of Akbar's birth : " *Umar-kot*, the fort of Umar of Omar a chief of the Sumra tribe. The place, situated in 25 " 21 ' N. and 69 " 46 ' E., is now a town with about 5,000 inhabitants, the head-quarters of the Thar and Parkar District, Sind. Many Persian and English

ance,. . .gave to the child the name of Jalālu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar.'

Humāyūn, who was a pious man, when he heard of the birth of his son, appears (on the testimony of Jauhar, his personal attendant) to have broken a pod of musk (the only precious thing he could get in his exile in the desert on a china plate, and 'distributed it among all the principal persons, saying : "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment."[1]

ii. We have also noted how Prince Akbar was left behind in Kandahār, when Humāyūn left for Persia in quest of fortune, how he was picked up by his uncle Askarī, and brought up for about a year by Sultān Begam 'who treated him with great tenderness'; and how, in the course of Humāyūn's fight with Kāmrān, the little Prince was threatened to be exposed to the fire of the guns on the battlements of the Kābul fort.

iii. The next we heard of Prince Akbar was after the death of his uncle Hindāl, when Rāzia Sultānā, Hindāl's daughter, was given in marriage to him, and Akbar was put in charge of Hindāl's command and the government of Ghaznī.

iv. Lastly, we noted how he followed his father in his attempted reconquest of Hindūstān, in which the great victory at Sirhind was ascribed to the presence of Prince Akbar in their midst. 'Under his (Humāyūn's) orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar, and this was circulated in all directions.'

v. After this victory at Sirhind, Sultān Sikandar Sūr fled to the Siwālik mountains. Mīr Abdul Ma'ali who had been sent in pursuit of him, having failed, Sikandar 'daily

authors write the name erroneously as Amarkot, with various corruptions as if derived from the Hindī word *amar*, meaning 'immortal' a frequent element in Hindū names." (Ibid. p. 13 n. 2).

1. Ibid. p. 15.

grew stronger. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Bairam Khān in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *atālik* or governor, to put an end to Sikandar's operation.'[1]

vi. When Akbar was engaged in these operations, occurred the sudden illness and death of Humāyūn. 'Shaikh Juli was sent to the Punjāb to summon Prince Akbar. . . . Shaikh Juli . . . . obtained an interview with the Prince Akbar at Kalānor. He communicated the fact of the King's illness; and intelligence of his death soon after arrived. After due observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the suite of the Prince, under the leading of Bairam Khān, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and so, on the 2nd *Rabi'u-s sani* he ascended the throne of Empire at Kalānor.'[2] Further on, the same writer (Nizāmud-dīn Ahmad) tells us, 'Bairam Khān, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and officers, raised His Highness to the throne in the town of Kalānor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of *Rabī'u-s sani* 963 H., (Feb. 14, 1556) with all due state and ceremony, and letters of grace and favour were sent to all parts of Hindūstān.'[3] The proclamation of his succession had been made at Delhi three days earlier on February 11; and three days after the enthronement at Kalānor a 'coronation *darbār*' was held, of which Ahmad Yādgār gives the following description :—

'Bairam Khān gave a great entertainment, and raised a large audience-tent, adorned with embroidered satin, like the

1. E. & D., op cit., V, p. 239.
2. Ibid., p. 241.
3. Ibid., p. 247. "The formal enthronement took place in a garden at Kalānor (Gurdāspūr Dist.). The throne, a plain brick structure, 18 ft. long 3 ft. high, resting on a masonry platform, still exists. . . . The throne platform has been recently enclosed in a plain post-and-chain fence, and a suitable inscription in English and Urdū has been affixed." The ancient kings of Lāhore used to be enthroned at Kalānor, and the town was at that time of larger size. Now it has a population of only about 5,000.—(Smith, op. cit., p. 30).

flowerbeds of a garden in the early Spring, of Paradise itself. He spread carpets of various colours, and on them he placed a golden throne, and caused Prince Akbar Mīrzā to sit on it; after which the *darbār* was opened to the public. The nobles of the Chaghatai tribe were made joyful by the gift of expensive dresses of honour, and regal presents, and promises of future favour were likewise made to them. Bairam Khān said, "This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign.'"[1]

(b) Political Situation

"When he went through the ceremony at Kalānor," says Smith, "he could not be said to possess any Kingdom. The small army under the command of Bairam Khān merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Punjāb; and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Pādshāh in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions."[2]

Among the successors of Sher Shāh, Sikandar Sūr had yet to be subdued; Mahmūd Shāh Adalī was still alive, and his Hindū general, Hemū, had become a power to reckon with even more than his nominal master. Bengal had remained independent for more than two centuries, mostly under the Afghāns. The Rājput clans of Rājasthān, having recovered from the defeat they had sustained at the hands of Bābur, were enjoying unchallenged possession of their territory ever since the death of Sher Shāh at Kālinjar. Mālwā and

1. E. and D., op. cit., V, p. 64. Yādgār actually places this incident three days before the battle of Pānīpat; but from the nature of the description itself it seems highly improbable that Bairam Khān's proclamation of Akbar could have been deferred so long. Smith places the *darbār* as above stated.—(see his *Akbar*, p. 31.) Note also that the Ilāhī era or beginning of Akbar's reign dates from *Rabi* ii, 27, (March 11) *i.e.* 25 days after the actual accession. The era was reckoned from the next *nauroz* or Persian New Year's Day, the interval of 25 days being counted part of the 1st regnal year (commencing from Mar. 11, 1556).—Ibid., n.)

2. Ibid.

Gujarāt had thrown off the sovereignty of Delhi, even before the flight of Humāyūn. Gondwana and Central India were in a state of disorderly independence. The Deccan states of Khāndesh, Ahmednagar, Berār, Bīdar, Golkonda, and Bījāpūr, were in the toils of their local politics and quarrels with Vijayanagar which was still in the zenith of its power. In the Arabian Sea, and on the west coast, the Portuguese were growing strong. The state of the Punjāb and the north-west was still very unsettled and full of potential and actual danger.

i. 'Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign,' says Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, 'was the rebellion of Shāh Abu-l Ma'ali.... The late King had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride, so that presumptuous ideas got mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions.[1] The Khan-khānan (Bairam Khān) arrested him, and was about to execute him ; but the young Emperor was mercifully disposed and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Saiyid before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Pahlawān Kal-gaz (kotwāl) and sent him to Lāhore. Abu-l Ma'ali escaped from custody,' but after some adventure was recaptured and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bayāna.[2]

ii. Nizāmu-d dīn further states, 'So long as Sikandar Afghān (Sūr) was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their forces against Sikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afghāns near the Siwālik mountains, and gained victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor.' Even after this defeat, Sikandar continued to hold on for some time longer, but finally, 'being reduced to great extremities (as the *Tārīkh-i Dāudī* adds), sent his son Abdur Rahaman from Mānkot in the Siwālik hills to Akbar

1. E.g., he failed to answer the summons to the nobles at the time of the *darbār* above refered to.—see Smith, op. cit., p. 31.

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 248.

Bādshāh, representing that he had committed many offences, on account of which he dared not present himself at Court, that he sent the few rarities he had with him as a peace-offering, and requested leave to be allowed to retire to Bengal and pass the remainder of his life in retirement. Akbar assented to all his solicitations, and gave him leave to depart to Bengal. Sikandar died three years after this surrender.'[1]

iii. 'When Humāyūn marched to Hindūstān, he (had) consigned the government of Kābul and Gaznī to Munīm Khān one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (*atālik*) of his son, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm. The city of Kandahār and its dependent territories were the *jāgīr* of Bairam Khān (*Khān-khānan*). By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshān was consigned to Mīrzā Suleimān ....But when the intelligence of Humāyūn's death reached him, ambitious designs took hold of him, and he marched against Kābul and laid siege to it. Munīm Khān wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor ....when the news of the siege of Kābul arrived, an imperative *farmān* was issued,....and Mīrzā Suleimān, seing that he could effect nothing by hostile means,....informed Munīm Khān that, if his name were recited in the *khutbā,* he would take his departure. Munīm Khān knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mīrzā Suleimān should be mentioned in the list of the titles (*zatl-i alkob*) of His Majesty the Emperor. When Mīrzā Suleimān was informed of this concession, he immediately departed for Badakhshān.[2]

1. Ibid., IV, p. 508. The final surrender of Sikandar at Mānkot did not take place until May 1557, *i.e.*, about six months after the battle of Pānīpat (Nov. 1556) ; the fief that was bestowed on him by Akbar comprised the Districts of Kharīd and Bihār. Mānkot (now in the Jammū territory of the Kāshmīr State) was the fort built by Salīm Sūr as a bulwark against the Gakkars.—Smith, op. cit., p. 40 ; Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 496 n. 4.

2. E. D., op. cit., V, pp. 249-50.

iv. 'Tardī Bég Khān, who was one of the most famous of the nobles of Humāyūn's reign, and held an exalted place in that monarch's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died caused the *khutbā* to be read in Delhī in the name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khwāja Sultān Alī, *wazīr* and *mīr-munshī,* who was also *mīr-i arz* and *mīr-i mal* kept under control the affairs of Delhī, and of Mewāt and other *parganas* which had but lately been brought under royal authority.'[1] But in spite of all these good services, Tardī Bég had soon to pay for his loyalty with his life.

The circumstances were the advance of Hemū upon Delhī, and the defeat and flight of Tardī Bég from the capital. The exact nature of the Khān's delinquency is the subject of controversy. We noted in the last chapter that Mahmūd Shāh Adalī despatched Hemū towards the Punjāb upon hearing of the death of Humāyūn. 'That general having scored a victory at Gwālior, laid siege to Āgrā, and having reduced it, proceeded to Delhī. Tardī Bég Khān, the governor, seized with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs in the neighbourhood, to come to his aid. Hemū....charged Tardī Bég Khān with such impetuousity, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Moguls was routed, the flight became general, and the city of Delhī also surrendered. Tardī Bég Khān fled to Sirhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy....Bairam Khān....caused Tardī Bég Khān to be seized and beheaded for abandoning Delhī, where he might have defended himself....Bairam Khān remarked that lenity at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Moguls, at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power. The King felt obliged to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work (Ferishta) had understood, from the best informed men of the times, that, had Tardī Bég Khān not been executed by way of example, such was the con-

1. Ibid., pp. 248-49.

dition of the Mogul army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sher Shāh would have been acted over again. But, in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Chaghatāi officers, each of whom before esteemed himself at least equal to Kaikobād and Kaikos, now found it necessary to confirm to the orders of Bairam Khān, and to submit quietly to his authority.'[1]

V. A. Smith observes, "The punishment, although inflicted in an irregular fashion without trial was necessary and substantially just.[2] It may be reasonably affirmed that failure to punish the dereliction of Tardī Bég from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life."[3]

(c) Second Battle of Pánīpat

'Hemū, who had now assumed the title of Rājā Vikramjīt, in Delhī, having attacked Shādī Khān and other Afghān chiefs to his interest, marched out of the capital to meet the King, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert.' So writes Ferishta.[4] The situation was undoubtedly a serious one. Akbar who, at the time of the capitulation of Delhī, was at Jalandhar, 'finding all his dominions, except the

1. Briggs, II. pp. 186-187.
2. *Oxford History of India*, p. 343.
3. *Akbar*, p. 36.
4. Briggs, II, p. 187. According to Ahmad Yādgār, when Hemū entered Delhī, he 'raised the Imperial canopy over him, and ordered coin to be struck in his name. He appointed governors of his own, and brought the Delhī territory and the neighbouring *parganas* under his control ; and in order to console the King (Adalī Shāh), he sent an account of the victory in these words : "Your slave, by the royal fortune, has routed the Mughal army, which was firm as an iron wall ; but I hear that Humāyūn's son commands a numerous force, and is advancing towards Delhī. For this reason, I have kept the horses and elephants of the Mughals, in order that I may be able to face the valiant enemy, and not allow them to reach Delhī." Adalī Shāh was comforted by these deceitful assertions.' (E. and D., op. cit., V, p. 62.)

Punjāb, wrested from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling diffident of himself, both from youth and inexperience, he conferred on Bairam Khān the title of Khān Bābā (signifying 'father,' here meaning regent or protector),.... and also required of Bairam Khān to swear on his part, by the soul of his deceased father Humāyūn, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to his trust. After this, a council being called by Bairam Khān, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army could scarcely muster 20,000, it would be prudent to retire to Kābul. Bairam Khān not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle to the enemy. The voice of Akbar which was in unison with the sentiments of Bairam Khān, decided the question.[1]

The Battle.

Hemū began the action with his elephants, on the morning of the 2nd of *Muharram*, 964 H. (November 5, 1556) in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, unaccustomed to those animals; but the Mughals attacked them so furiously, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khān Zamān commanded, that, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, they became quite unruly, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghān ranks into confusion. Hemū mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of 4,000 horse, in the very heart of the Mughal army; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sank into his *howdā* from extreme agony. The greater part of his army feared his wound was mortal and forsook him. Raising himself again,....he continued to fight with unabated courage, endeavouring, with the few men who remained about his person, to force his retreat through the enemy's line....At length..he was surrounded by a body of horse, and carried prisoner to Akbar, who was about two or three *kos* in the rear.

1. *Ferishta*, Briggs, II, pp. 185-86.

Execution of Hemū.

'When Hemū was brought into the presence, Bairam Khān recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive, became entitled to the appellation of *Ghāzī*, while Bairam Khān, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Hemū from his body.'[1]

(d) Post-Pānīpat Events up to 1560

The principal events that happened after the execution of Hemū may be enumerated here for the sake of clearness thus :—

(i) The occupation of Delhī and Āgrā ;
(ii) The capture of Mewāt, and the execution of Hemū's father ;
(iii) The acquisition of Ajmir ;
(iv) The surrender of Gwālior ;
(v) The annexation of Jaunpūr ;
(vi) Attacks on Rantambhor and Mālwā.

1. This is Ferishta's account ; Briggs, II, pp. 188-89. There are different versions of this incident, as well as of the details of the battle. Ahmad Yādgār says, 'The Prince, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his unclean body.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, 65-6. Smith accepts this version, and observes : "Akbar, a boy of fourteen, cannot be justly blamed for complying with the instructions of Bairam Khān, who had a right to expect obedience ; nor is there any good reason for supposing that at that time the boy was more scrupulous than his officers. The official story,....seems to be the late invention of courtly flatterers,....At the time of the battle of Pānīpat, Akbar was an unregenerate lad, devoted to amusement, and must not be credited with the feelings of his mature manhood."—*Akbar*, p. 39. Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, who was Akbar's Chief Bakshī, however definitely says, 'Bairam Khān-khānan then put Hemū to death with his own hand.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 253. For a fuller discussion, see "The death of Hemū", *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, p. 527. Also "The Death of Hemū" by Sukumar Ray, in *Dacca U. Studies*, I. 1, Nov. 1935.

Elphinstone rightly points out, "The real restoration of the House of Tīmūr may be dated from this period :—it had been brought about entirely through the exertions of Bairam Khān, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject."[1] At the end of this period we find the great Khān fallen from his high estate, almost suddenly if not unexpectedly, reminding us of Wolsey's memorable words to Thomas Cromwell on the fickleness of human fortune and the precariousness of royal favour.

The task before Akbar was a three-fold one : (1) to recover the dominions of the Crown ; (2) to establish his authority over his chiefs ; and (3) to restore in the internal administration that order which had been lost in the course of so many revolutions.

"In the first years of Akbar's reign, his territory was confined to the Punjāb and the country round Delhī and Āgrā. In the third year he acquired Ajmir without a battle ; early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Gwālior ; and, not long before Bairam's fall he had driven the Afghāns out of Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Jaunpūr."[2]

The Muslim historians follow a merely chronological order, without using discretion even as regards the relative importance of events. We have therefore to cull out the most significant facts from this jumble, and rearrange them in an intelligible order. The following narrative is taken principally from the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, the *Akbar-Nāma*, and the *Tārīkh-i Firishta*:

1. Occupation of Delhī and Āgrā.

'Next day (after the execution of Hemū) the army marched from Pānīpat, and without halting anywhere, went straight to Delhī. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month.[3] From here two important expeditions were

1. *History of India*, p. 496.
2. Ibid., p. 500.
3. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 253.

led : (a) against Mewāt, because 'Intelligence was brought in that all the dependants of Hemū, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewāt' ; (b) against Sikandar Afghān (Sūr), whose reduction has already been described above. The first was led by Pīr Muhammad Sarwāni. 'He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.' The *Akbar-Nāma* gives other details, and says that Hemū's father was given the choice between conversion and death ; when the old man refused to apostatize, 'Pīr Muhammad gave an answer with the tongue of his sword.'[1] Mewāt was conferred as a *jāgīr* upon Pīr Muhammad, who was a confidential servant of Bairam Khān.[2] On their way back from Alwar or Mewāt, 'Haji Khān took possession of Ajmir and Nagor and all those parts....Muhammad Kāsim Khān was sent by the Emperor to take charge of Ajmir.'[3]

The expedition against Sikandar, up to a certain stage, was led by Akbar in person. Then, when his mother Mariam Makāni and other royal ladies returned from Kābul, 'the Emperor left Bairam Khān in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart receiving great comfort from the reunion.' Towards the end of March, 1558, 'His Majesty arrived at Delhī. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent place in his councils. The Khān-khānān, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *diwān-khānā*, and transact business under the direction and commands of His Majesty....After the expiration of six months, the Emperor embarked in a boat to Āgrā, where he arrived on the 17th *Muharram*, 966 H. (30th Oct., 1558), in the third year of the Ilāhī.[4] At the time Āgrā was a town of comparatively small importance.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 21.
2. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 40.
3. E. & D., loc. cit., pp. 21-22.
4. Ibid., V, pp. 256-57.

2. Gwālior and Jaunpūr.

"In the course of the third and fourth regnal years (1558-60) the gradual consolidation of Akbar's dominion in Hindūstān was advanced by the surrender of the strong fortress of Gwālior in Central India, and the annexation of the Jaunpūr province in the east. An attempt to take the castle of Rantambhor in Rājputāna failed, and preliminary operations for the reduction of Mālwā were interrupted by the intrigues and troubles connected with Akbar's assertion of his personal fitness to rule, and the consequent fall of Bairam Khān, the Protector."[1]

'The fort of Gwālior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *Rājās*. After the time of Salīm Khān (Islām Shāh) the fort had been placed in the charge of Suhail, one of his *ghulāms*, by Sultān Mahmūd Adalī. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Āgrā, Habīb Alī Sultān, Maksūd Alī Kor, and Kīya Khān were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days and the garrison being in distress surrendered.' This brief notice of Nīzamu-d dīn is supplemented with some more details by the *Tārīkh-i 'Alfī*, which adds: 'Akbar when he took up his residence at Āgrā, gave the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Gwālior as a *jāgīr* to Kīya Khān. After a time the Khān collected an army and invested Gwālior, but the place was so strong that he could make no impression upon it. Suhail was a man of experience, and he saw very clearly that it would be impossible to hold the fort against the growing power of his Imperial neighbour. (So he cleverly sold the fort to Rām Shāh of the old ruling family of Gwālior.) Kīya Khān, the *jāgīrdār* attacked him, and a battle was fought, in which many on both sides were killed. Rām Shāh was defeated, and escaped with difficulty, and went to the Rāṇā of Udaipūr.'[2] Gwālior was captured in the third year of Akbar's reign. The next year, beginning with 10th March, 1559, Khān Zamān was

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 42.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 259 and 167-8.

sent to reduce Jaunpūr, the capital of the Sharkīya kings, which was now in the possession of the Afghāns. He accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he annexed that country (and Benāres, ac. to *Tārīkh-i Alfī*) to the Imperial dominions.'[1]

Here a brief allusion must be made to the extinction of the Sūr dynasty of Sher Shāh. The end of Sikandar Sūr has already been referred to. Mahmūd Shāh Adalī, who had established himself at Chunār and despatched Hemū to the west against the Mughals, was the only representative of the house now remaining. His fate is thus described in the *Tārīkh-i Dāudī* : 'As for Adalī, at the time of Hemū's death he was at Chunār, and at that juncture the son of Mahmūd Khān, by name Khizr Khān, ruler of Bengal, who had assumed the name of Sultān Bahādur, advanced with a large army to avenge the blood of his father ; and Adalī proceeded into Bihār to meet him as far as Mungīr...The sun had not yet risen when Sultān Bahādur, with his army in array, made an attack upon Adalī, and sounded the kettle-drums of war. Adalī had only a few men with him, but behaved with considerable gallantry. The action was fought at the stream of Sūrajgarh, about one *kos* more or less from Mungīr, and about 12 *kos* from Patna, and there Adalī was defeated and slain, in consequence of the paucity of his numbers, in the year 968 H. (1560 A.D.), after a reign of eight years.'[2]

3. Rantambhor and Mālwā.

'In this year (1559) Habīb Alī Khān was sent against the fort of Rantambhor. During the rule of Sher Khān Afghān this fort was under the charge of Hājī Khān, one of his *ghulāms*, and this Hājī Khān had now sold the fort to Rāi Sūrjan, a relation of Rāi Udai Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the *parganas* under his rule, and had enforced his authority. Habīb Alī with his army invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood ; the *amīrs* then departed to their *jāgīrs*.

1. Ibid., pp. 259-60.
2. His son, assuming the name of Sher Shāh, made an ineffectual attempt to capture Jaunpūr from Khān Zamān, and, as the *Tārīkh-i Dāudī* records, 'The son of Adalī adopted the life of a recluse after this signal calamity, and no one knew anything further about him.'—E. & D., IV, pp. 508-9.

'At this time, while the Court was at Āgrā, Bahādur Khān, brother of Khān Zamān, marched to effect the conquest of Mālwā, which had formerly belonged to the Khiljī monarchs, but which had been brought into subjection by Bāz Bahādur, son of Sūja Khān Afghān. He had reached the town of Siri, when the agitation arose about Bairam Khān, and under the orders of the Khān he returned.'[1]

(e) The Fall of Bairam Khan

Early in 1560, Akbar decided to assume the responsibilities of Government himself. The reasons that led him to do this were various. 'The general management of Imperial affairs,' says Nizāmu-d dīn, 'was under the direction of Bairam Khān; but there were envious malignant men, who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour, who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor.'[2] The *Akbar-Nāma,* on the other hand, states: 'Bairam's natural character was good and amiable. But through bad company, that worst misfortune of man, his natural good qualities were overclouded, and arrogance was fostered by the flattery.' Abu-l Fazl also accuses him of conspiracy— 'At length Bairam's proceedings went beyond all endurance, and he formed some sinister designs in conspiracy with evil-minded flatterers.'[3] Ferishta clinches the matter by adding, 'In short, so many insinuations were thrown out against Bairam Khān, particularly one of a design in favour of Abul Kāsim Mīrzā, the son of the late Kāmrān Mīrzā, that Akbar became alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the Protector's authority.'[4]

Misunderstanding once generated, fed upon distrust, and every trifling accident was perverted in order to widen the breach. "The Persian histories narrate the circumstances of

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 260.
2. Ibid., p. 261.
3. Ibid., VI, pp. 23-4.
4. Briggs, II, pp. 196-97.

Bairam Khān's fall at immense length and from different points of view," writes V. A. Smith ; but "a concise summary may be sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. When Akbar had entered on his eighteenth year (A.D. 1560) and began to feel himself a man, the trammels of the tutelage in which he was held by his guardian became galling, and he desired to be a king in fact as well as in name. Those natural feelings were stimulated and inflamed by the ladies of his household and various courtiers who for one reason or another had grievances against the Protector.[1] His appointment of Shaikh Gadai as *Sadr-i-Sudur* excited the sectarian animosity of all the Sunnīs at court, who complained, and not without reason, that Bairam Khān showed excessive favour to the adherents of his own Shia sect. Many influential people had been offended by the execution of Tardī Bég,[2] and on several occasions Bairam Khān, presuming too much on his position, had behaved with undue arrogance. He was accused too, of making indiscreet remarks. Moreover, Akbar was annoyed by a special personal grievance, inasmuch as he had no privy purse, and his household was poorly paid, while the servants of the Protector grew rich. Bairam Khān, on his side, was inclined to think that his services were indispensable, and was unwilling to surrender the uncontrolled power which he had exercised so long. Gradually it became apparent that either Akbar or Bairam Khān must yield."[3] Matters soon reached a crisis.

1. The principal centre of all this intrigue at the Court was ; Māham Anaga, who was Akbar's *atkā* or nurse from his cradle. When he grew up, she was head of his harem. According to Abu-l Fazl, she was the governing spirit and real minister for a time.—see E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 261-64.

2. Tardī Bég and Bairam Khān were old rivals under Humāyūn ; the former was one of the oldest Chaghatai nobles, and he stood in the way of the able and ambitious Bairam, the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him as much as those from Persia did to Bairam. —Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 497 n.

3. Smith, op. cit., pp. 42-3.

"The advisers of Bairam Khān were divided in opinion. Shaikh Gadai, the *Sadr-i Sudur*, and certain other counsellors advised their patron to seize Akbar's person and fight the matter out. But, Bairam Khān, after some hesitation, honourably refused to stain the record of a lifetime of loyalty by turning traitor, and intimated his intention to submit. Meantime, the courtiers for the most part had deserted the falling minister, and, after the manner of their kind, had turned to worship the rising sun."[1]

Akbar, on the other hand, acted promptly. He sent to Bairam Khān the following missive, through his tutor Mīr Abdu-l Latīf :—

"As I was assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of Government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should make the pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable *Jāgīr* out of the *parganas* of Hindūstān will be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agents."[2]

Nizāmu-d dīn narrates the sequel well : 'When Mīr Abdu-l Latif communicated this message to Khān-khānān, he listened attentively, and having parted from the Mīr, he left Mewāt for Nagor....Upon reaching Nagor, he sent his banner, kettle-drums, and all other marks of nobility, to the Emperor by the hands of Husain Kulī Bég....The surrender of the banner and the other insignia of nobility gratified the Emperor.....

'Pīr Muhammad Khān Sarwāni, whom the Khān-khānān had banished from the country and sent to Mecca,[3] had waited in Gujarāt for the proper season (of sailing). On hearing of the disgrace of the Khān-khānān, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title *Nāsiru-l Mulk*, as well as with a banner and kettle-drums.

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 44.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 264.
3. For details of the circumstances under which Pīr Muhammad was dismissed by Bairam Khān see Ibid., pp. 257-58.

He was then sent with a force to hasten Khān-khānān's departure for Mecca (or to use Badāunī's phrase, 'to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca without giving him any time for delay,') and accordingly marched after him....

When Bairam Khān learnt that Pīr Muhammad had been sent to pursue him, 'this greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some evil-minded persons, having found their opportunity, played upon the feelings of the Khān-khānān, and inciting him to rebellious acts, he went towards the Punjāb.....On the Emperor being informed of Khān-khānān's advance, he despatched......a body of nobles to the Punjāb......so that he was obliged to fight....A sharp action ensued, with considerable loss to both sides, and Khān-khānān being defeated, fled towards the Siwālic hills.....The Emperor then himself marched to the Punjāb....A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hill, and surrounding the place put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultān Hussain Jalair was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khān-khānān, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed, "This life of mine is not worth so much, that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khān instantly sent one of his followers, Jamāl Khān, to the Emperor with this message : "I deeply repent my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control ; but if I am favoured with the royal clemency, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will present myself in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

'When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor, the recollection of old services rose up in his memory, and he gave orders that the Khān-khānān should be brought into his presence. When the Khān-khānān approached the royal presence, all the *amīrs* and *khāns* went out, by the Emperor's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark of honour....The Emperor received him with the most princely grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards, he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places...Khān-khānān, with his people took the road to Gujarāt....[1]

Bairam Khān could not, however, pursue his journey to its close, for he was murdered at Pātan by an Afghān whose father had been killed at the battle of Machiwāra. 'Some scoundrels then plundered the encampment of the deceased,' says Nizāmu-d dīn. Bairam Khān's body was picked up by

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 264-69.

some *fakīrs* who gave it a burial. His family with great difficulty managed to reach Ahmedābād. His little son, Abdurrahīm, then only four years of age, was brought up at Akbar's Court, and lived to become *Khān-khānān* and one of the greatest nobles of the Empire.

" The story of the transactions leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khān," observes Smith, " leaves an unpleasant taste. . . .Both Humāyūn and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Bairam Khān, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands the demission of his faithful charioteer should be effected as gently as possible. But the many enemies of Bairam Khān were not in a humour to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way un-obstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generosity of his reception after the failure of his rebellion, may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had had little to do with the previous transactions, for which Māham Anaga was responsible, as her panegyrist Abu-l Fazal affirms."[1]

(f) "The Pardā Regime" (1600-1604)

" Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khān," says Smith, " only to bring himself under the ' monstrous regiment ' of unscrupulous women. He had yet another effort to make before he found himself and rose to the height of his essentially noble nature."[2] Akbar was eighteen years of age, and it may not seem unlikely that he came under the influence of the 'veil' even to a considerable extent ; but Smith's insinuation, is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny. He himself admits that Akbar's " essentially noble nature " asserted itself, and one who had acted with such determination in overthrowing a giant like Bairam Khān, was not likely to put up, if at all, for long with " petticoat government of the worst kind."

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 47-8.
2. Ibid., p. 48.

We must now turn to his activities during the first four years after the fall of Bairam Khān (1600-1604). At the end of this period he became completely his own master in every sense of the term.

1. The Conquest of Mālwā.

The condition of this fertile plateau (north of the Vindhya range, between lat. 23"30' and 24"30'; and long. 74"30' and 78"10') of Mālwā was "such as seemed to invite a war of conquest with good prospects of success." Shuja'at or Shujāwal Khān, who practically ruled it independently under Adalī Shāh Sūr, had died in the year of Akbar's accession (1556). 'He was succeeded by his son Bāz Bahādur,' says the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, 'and when the Afghāns were scattered over Hindūstān by the conquering Chaghatais, Bāz Bahādur established himself as permanent ruler of Mālwā. When Bahādur Khān (Khān Zamān's brother) marched against him, the affairs of Bairam Khān came to crisis, and the campaign in Mālwā was stayed.[1]

'Bāz Bahādur was,' according to Nizāmu-d dīn, 'the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindī song. He spent much of his time in the society of musicians and singers...It now came to His Majesty's knowledge that Bāz Bahādur had given himself up to sensuality, and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and the people had been reduced to distress.' 'The honour of the Imperial throne required,' continues the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, 'that this country should be again brought under its control and find peace and security' (ever the plea of aggressive Imperialism!).

'So Adham Khān (Māham Anaga's son), Pīr Muhammad Khān (Bairam Khān's enemy), and some other *amīrs*, were nominated to effect the conquest of that country. They actually marched thither, and when they came within ten *kos* of *Sārangpūr* (now in the Dewās State, Central India Agency), Bāz Bahādur, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a position, which he fortified, two *kos* from the city....Adham Khān sent forward an advance force to the entrenchments which Bāz Bahādur had thrown up

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 168-69.

around his army. Bāz Bahādur then threw off his apathy, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghān nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight (1561) towards Khāndesh and Burhānpūr (Faizī). Rūp-matī, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry,[1] several other wives and all his treasure fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Bāz Bahādur's wounded Rūp-matī with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and when Adham Khān summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

'Adham Khān wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He retained all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some elephants, under charge of Sādik Khān, to Court. This retention of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed to Mālwā in person. On the 21st *Sha'ban*, 968 H., (April 27, 1561) the Emperor left Āgrā, and marched towards Mālwā....Adham Khān now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor,[2] who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself, and then returned to Āgrā.[3] At that place Pīr Muhammad Khān Sarwāni and other nobles who had *jāgīrs* in Mālwā, waited upon the Emperor. They

1. The amours of Bāz Bahādur and Rūp-matī, 'renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm,' are celebrated in many a song and picture.

2. Abu-l Fazl says that Adham Khān was altogether amazed at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by Māham Anaga to warn her son. He also describes how reluctant Adham Khān was to give up the women and the singing and dancing girls of Bāz Bahādur. (*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 178.)

3. Akbar arrived in Āgrā on June 4, 1561, "after an absence of only thirty-eight days. Akbar, who resembled Alexander the Great in his disregard of climatic conditions or physical obstacles, made his rapid journey in the height of the hot season."—(Smith, op. cit, p. 52.)

were honoured with gifts of robes and horses, and were then sent back to their *jāgīrs*.'

Akbar was not fully reconciled to Adham Khān. It was only the intercession of the latter's mother, Māham Anaga, that had mollified him for the time being. In November 1561, Shamsu-d dīn Muhammad Khān Atga, who came from Kābul, was entrusted with the management, as minister, of all affairs political, financial, and military; and perhaps on his advice, Adham Khān was recalled from Mālwā. Māham Anaga was opposed to Atga Khān's high appointment, and she was very much vexed to find Akbar fast slipping out of her control. But at the same time, it is strange that Pīr Muhammad was allowed to succeed Adham Khān in the charge of Mālwā; for both were equally unworthy. Both had been guilty of excesses in Mālwā[1]; but perhaps the guilt of the former weighed more with the Emperor for his misappropriation and contumacious spirit.

Pīr Muhammad, after his appointment in place of Adham Khān, assembled the forces of Mālwā and marched to subdue the countries of Asīr and Burhānpūr. He laid siege to Bījāgarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. ('He next proceeded against Sultānpūr, and annexed it to the Imperial territories'—*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 212). He then marched against Asīr, a well-known place in Khāndesh. Crossing the river Narbada, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and came to Burhānpūr. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and *saiyids* of the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The

1. 'On the day of the victory,' according to Badāunī, 'the two captains remaining on the spot, had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river.' Pīr Muhammad cracked brutal jests, and when remonstrance was offered, replied :—'In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them?'

governors of Asīr and Burhānpūr, and Bāz Bahādur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Mālwā, now concerted together, and assisted by all the *zamīndārs* of the country they assembled a force with which they assailed Pīr Muhammad Khān (as his men 'were pursuing their straggling march homewards laden with spoil'—*Akbar-Nāma,* ii. p. 293). Unable to resist, Pīr Muhammad fled towards Māndū, and when he came to the Narbada. . . .he was thrown off (his horse) into the water and drowned, thus receiving the recompense of his deeds, says the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī.* (Badāunī writes : 'By way of water he went to fire and the sighs of orphans, poor wretches, and captives settled his business'—vol. ii, p. 51). 'The other nobles, on reaching Mālwā, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor. Bāz Bahādur pursued them, and brought the whole of Mālwā once more into his power. The *amīrs* who had abandoned Mālwā, and had come to Court without orders were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

'Abdulla Khān Uzbek now received orders to retrieve this disaster in Mālwā, and several other Khāns were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H. (1562 A.D.) Abdulla and his auxiliaries entered Mālwā, and Bāz Bahādur, being unable to withstand him, took to flight—to the hills of Kambalmir' (*Alfi*). A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Bāz Bahādur found protection for some time with Rāṇā Udai Singh, one of the chief Rājās of Mārwār, and afterwards he repaired to Gujarāt, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune. (According to Badāunī, he was imprisoned for some time, but soon after his release he died ; according to Faizī, he was granted a *mansab* of 2,000.) Abdulla Khān remained at Māndū and the other *amīrs* returned to their *jāgīrs*'.

In July 1564, Abdulla Khān showed signs of rebellion, and Akbar was obliged to March against him in person.

Abdulla Khān was soon driven to the confines of Gujarāt, whence he made his way to Jaunpūr and died there during the rebellion of Khān Zamān, in 1565. 'The Imperial army then moved, and, on the new moon of *Zi-l hijja,* 791 H., reached Māndū. The *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Mīr Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Khāndesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a *farmān* was sent to Mīan Mubārak Shāh directing him to send any one of his daughters who he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor....When Mubārak Shāh received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, esteeming it a great favour to be allowed to do so......In *Muharram,* 972 H. (August 1564), the Imperial camp moved from Māndū....Karrā Bahādur Khān was appointed governor of Māndū.....Proceeding by way of Mārwār and Gwālior, the Emperor reached Āgrā on the 3rd *Rabī'u-l awal.* In the course of this year, the Emperor had twins born to him, one of whom was named Hasan, the other Husain ; but they lived only a month.'

2. Khān Zamān's Contumacy.

We have noted how, after the death of Adalī, the eastern province of Jaunpūr was brought under the Empire, and Khān Zamān was appointed its governor. An attempt by Adalī's son to recover the province, we also saw, ended in failure. In July 1561, 'various actions of Khān Zamān (Alī Kulī Khān) excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year, His Majesty proceeded towards Jaunpūr, on a progress of hunting and pleasure... When the Court reached Karrā, Alī Kulī Khān and his brother Bahādur Khān came up by forced marches from their *jāgīr* of Jaunpūr, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognised, they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their

jāgīrs. On the 17th *Zi-l hijja*, of the sixth year of the Ilāhī, corresponding with 968 H., (August 1561) the Court reached Āgrā.

3. First Rājput Marriage and Alliance.

'On the 8th *Jumada-l awwal*, 969 H., (January 1562) the Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of Kutbu-l Auliya Khwāja Muinu-d dīn Chishtī (at Ajmir). When he reached the town of Sambhar, Rājā Bihārī Mal (Kachwaha), one of the chief Rājās of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagwān Dās, to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an honourable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court.[1] From thence he proceeded to Ajmir, and he dispensed many gifts and pensions among the inhabitants of that noble city.

4. Capture of Mairtha.

'Mīrzā Sharafu-d dīn Hussain, who held a *jāgīr* in the territory of Ajmir, came to pay his homage. He was sent with several other *amīrs* of that province to effect the conquest of the fort of Mairtha, about 20 *kos* from Ajmir, which was held by Jai Mal, the commandant of Rāi Maldeo. His Majesty then started for Āgrā, and making forced marches he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty *kos*, in a day and a night. (The *Tārīkh-i Alfī* gives the more probable time of *three* days.) . . . . When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort Jai Mal marched out with his men. But Deodās, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress, and then sallied forth at the head of a party of Rājputs, and passed in front of the royal army...Many of the royal sol-

1. Bihārī or Bihār Mal or Bhārmal was the Rājā of Amber (Jaipur). His daughter became the mother of Akbar's successor Jahāngīr, and came to be known as Maryām-Zamānī. This marriage, according to Dr. Beni Prasad, "symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that mediæval India produced." Rājā Mān Singh was Bhārmal's grandson.

diers fell, and nearly 200 Rājputs were slain . . . The fort of Mairtha was then occupied by the Imperial forces.'

5. The Brave Rāṇī Durgāvatī of Gondwana.

The *Tārīkh-i Alfi* gives the following brief notice of an epic incident, belonging to this period (1654), concerning the conquest of *Garha* in the Jubbulpore District :—

'Khwāja Abdu-l Majīd, who had received the title of Āsaf Khān,[1] was appointed governor of Karrā, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hindūstān since the rise of the faith of Islām. At this time it was governed by a woman called *Rāṇī* (*Durgāvatī*), and all the dogs (!) of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Āsaf Khān had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the *Rāṇī*, he levied an army to conquer the country. The *Rāṇī* came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horse. The armies met and both did their best. An arrow struck the *Rāṇī*, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant-driver and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. Āsaf Khān gained the victory, and stopped the advance at the tāluq of Chauragarh, where the treasures of the rulers of Garha were kept. The son of the *Rāṇī* shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things was taken, that it was impossible to compute even the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, Āsaf Khān sent only fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself.'[2]

1. This was Āsaf Khān I; later in the reign there were two others with the same title. For his biography see Blochmann, *Āīn.*, i, pp. 366-69.

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 169. There are differences regarding details in other accounts.

Gondwana formed the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The fort of Chauragarh is now in the Narsingpur District. When it fell into Āsaf Khān's hands, its treasures contained, besides those mentioned above, 'coined and uncoined gold, decorated utensils, pearls, figures, pictures, jewelled and decorated idols, figures of animals made wholly of gold, and other rarities.' "The coin was said to include a hundred large pots full of the gold *ashrāfis* of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī."

The gallant queen had, fifteen years previously, become the regent for her minor son, Bīr Nārāyan. Although the Rājā had now attained manhood, she continued to exercise all authority. "The Rāṇī was a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Mahoba, which had been one of the great powers of India five hundred years earlier. Her impoverished father had been obliged to lower his pride and give his daughter to the wealthy Gond Rājā, who was far inferior in social position. She proved herself worthy of her noble ancestry, and governed her adopted country with courage and capacity, 'doing great things', as Abul Fazl remarks, 'by dint of her far-seeing abilities. She had great contests with Bāz Bahādur and the Miāhs, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles, and 1,000 famous elephants. The treasures of the Rājās of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with the gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that when she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him.' Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble," observes Smith, "was mere aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than the lust for conquest and plunder."[1] Āsaf Khān intoxicated with success, in the manner of Adham Khān in Mālwā, evidently thought of establishing himself independently; but Akbar, in this

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

instance, for some reason or other, 'winked at his treachery,' and deferred the settlement of accounts.

6. (i) Adham Khān and (ii) Khwāja Muāzzam.

We might close this period (1560-64) with an account of two incidents which throw more light upon Akbar's independent character, and assertion of individuality, than any reflections of his critics who spin excessively over the malign influences of the 'monstrous regiment of women' and the 'petticoat government' over the youthful Emperor.

'A tragical event occurred in the course of this year (May 16, 1562)', writes Nizāmu-d dīn 'Adham Khān Kokaltash, son of Māham Anaga, could not endure to see the elevation of his compeers. In the presumption of youth and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incentives of Shāhbu-d dīn Ahmad Khān, Munīm Khān Khān-khānān, and several other nobles, and murdered Khān-i Āzam (Shāmsu-d dīn Muhammad Atgā), then Prime-Minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Then, trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the *harem*. His Majesty rushed out of the *harem*, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot and cast over the parapet for his crime..... All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment....His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Māham Anaga; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards.'

The other incident was also of a similar character. The same writer records: 'Khwāja Muāzzam was maternal uncle of the Emperor... This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of the Emperor Humāyūn,.... His unseemly conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him....After his banishment the Khwāja stayed for a while in Gujarāt, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bairam Khān then countenanced him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the disgrace of Bairam

Khān, the Emperor took compassion on the Khwāja, and gave him some *jāgīr*. But the Khwāja's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful deeds. To mention one : There was a woman named Fatima, attached to the *harem* of the late Emperor, and the Khwāja had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zuhra Agha. After some time he formed the design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting expedition, and he assured the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khwāja. Accordingly he sent Tahir Muhammad Khān *Mīr-i Faraghat* and Rustum Khān to give the Khwāja notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Tahir Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged, that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khwāja's cruel actions, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and souse him several times in the river. After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gwālior, where he died in confinement. Although immersed several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he abused the Emperor. He died insane. (*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 276).

What Smith observes with regard to the latter incident, is equally true of both. He says, " The punishment inflicted on him proved definitely that Akbar was not to be deterred by family influence from doing justice on evil-doers, after the rough and ready manner of the times. The incident may be taken as marking the date of Akbar's final emancipation from the control of a palace clique. He continued to show all proper respect to his mother, *but he did not allow her to control his policy, which was conceived on principles distasteful to her*."[1]

1. Ibid., pp. 67-8.

(g) Rebellions : East and West

The principal rebellions of this period were two : That of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, Akbar's half-brother, at Kābul ; and that of Khān Zamān at Jaunpūr. They were interconnected in so far as the one sympathised with the other, and built his hopes of success on simultaneous action.

The Kābul Revolt.

The first attempt of Mīrzā Suleimān of Badakhshān on Kābul has already been described. 'When Munīm Khān (Mīrzā Mahammad Hakīm's guardian) left Kābul to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khān Akhta-bégī was left there as governor, but on Munīm Khān being informed of his ill-treatment of the people of Kābul, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghanī Khān, in his place....After a time, Mah Chochak Begam (Hakīm's mother) and the people of Kābul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghanī....Sometime afterwards Ghanī Bég went out one day for a stroll in the melon-gardens, and the opportunity was seized by the mother of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, in concert with Shāh Wali Atka...., to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghanī Khān. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghanī Khān understood that the people had revolted against him. Unable to do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the Prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands........When the report of these occurrences reached the Emperor, he appointed Munīm Khān governor of Kābul and guardian (*atālik*) of the young Prince Mīrzā Muhammad (who was only ten years of age). The mother of the Prince assembled all the forces she could, and taking the Prince with her, she went, with the intention of resisting by force of arms, to Jalālābād, known in old times by the name of Jusai. There she awaited Munīm Khān, who quickly marched against her, and defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begam returned to Kābul.....'

After some time, Abul Ma'ali, who had evidently escaped from Bayāna and gone on pilgrimage, returned from Mecca, and in concert with Mīrzā Sharafu-d dīn, the jāgīrdār of Nagor and Ajmir, rebelled and made towards Kābul. 'The Imperial forces invested Ajmir, ...and then hastened in pursuit of the rebels......When Abdul Ma'ali . . . found that the royal army was coming up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct road he fled towards Kābul. When he approached Kābul, he wrote

a letter full of affection and devotion for the late Emperor, and sent it to Mah Chochak Begam (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honour. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abul Ma'ali now pushed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Hakīm.

'A party of malcontents, who were displeased with the treatment they had received from Mah Chochak Begam..,persuaded him that matters would never go on well as long as the Begam lived. He fell in with their views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he got into his hands the Prince Muhammad Hakīm, who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government.......Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm sent a person to Mīrzā Suleimān, calling upon him for assistance......The Mīrzā, hearing of the state of affairs,...marched against Kābul...Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began........Three days later, he sent Abul Ma'ali, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, and he ordered him to be strangled in punishment of his crimes. This happened on the night of the 17th *Ramzān*, 970 H. (April 1564).

'Mīrzā Suleimān now sent to Badakhshān for his daughter, and married her to Muhammad Hakīm. After giving *jāgīrs* in the Kābul territory to many of his followers, and appointing Umaid Alī, who was in his confidence, to the post of minister, he returned to Badakhshān.

'Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm and his people, being greatly annoyed by these Badakhshānīs, drove them out of Kābul. Mīrzā Suleimān then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion....Hakīm fled to Peshāwar, and appealed for Akbar's help.....when the statement of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm reached the Imperial Court, an order was given directing all the nobles and *jāgīrdārs* of the Punjāb.....to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm......Mīrzā Suleimān on the approach of the royal forces fled to Badakhshān....

Mīrzā Suleimān, for a fourth time invaded Kābul. Mīrzā Hakīm once more sought refuge in flight, and again appealed to Akbar. The Emperor this time appointed Farīdun Khān, maternal uncle of the Mīrzā and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assistance. 'He now sent Khush-khabar Khān, one of the royal heralds, with money, goods of Hindūstān, and a horse and saddle, to the Mīrzā; and he wrote a *farmān*, in which he said that if the Mīrzā required assistance, he would send the *amīrs* of the Punjāb to support him.

When Khush-khabar Khān approached the camp, the Mīrzā hastened out with due ceremony and respect to receive the *farmān*. After the arrival of Khush-khabar Khān, Farīdun laboured to instigate the Mīrzā to hostile attempts, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lāhore. Hostilities having been resolved upon, he tried to persuade the Mīrzā to seize Khush-khabar Khān. But although the Mīrzā had been led away by his foolish persuasions, he was too honourable to consent to the detention of Khush-khabar Khān ; so he invited the Khān to his presence secretly, and sent him away. Sultān Alī, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hasan Khān, brother of Shāhbu-d dīn Ahmad Khān, who was in Kābul, helped to excite the hostile spirit and added their voices to Farīdun's.

'Won over by their persuasions, the Mīrzā broke into open revolt, and marched against Lāhore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Punjāb,. . . .hearing of these proceedings, assembled at Lāhore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and wrote an account of the Mīrzā's rebellion and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lāhore, the Mīrzā advanced to the foot of the fortifications ; but the *amīrs* of the Punjāb repulsed him with the fire of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of the advance of the royal forces, the Mīrzā, feeling unable to offer resistance, took to flight.

Khān Zamān's Rebellion.

We have already mentioned the contumacious conduct of this nobleman and his brother, Bahādur Khān, and their submission at the Emperor's approach, in August 1561. They again rebelled early in 1565. In may, Akbar was obliged to take the field in person, and crossed the Jumnā. In December, 1565, Khān Zamān gave an undertaking not to cross the Ganges, and Akbar came back to Āgrā in March 1566. Meantime Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm invaded the Punjāb, under the circumstances described above. "He was encouraged by the Uzbeg rebellions to claim the throne of Hindūstān, and Khān Zamān went so far as to recite the *khutbā*, or prayer for the King, in his name."[1] Akbar set forth against his brother in November 1566 ; but when he learnt of his defeat and flight, he returned to Lāhore where he heard of the rebellion of the Mīrzās (February 1567). The Mīrzās, having first broken out at Sambhal, near Morādābād, where they had been granted estates, had been driven into Mālwā. In May 1567, Akbar had

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 77.

once more to march against Khān Zamān, who had broken his plighted word, to suppress him finally. The details of these events are thus set forth by Nizāmu-d dīn in the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* :

'In consequence of the severe proceedings against Abdulla Khān Uzbeg, which have been narrated above (viz., his expulsion from Mālwā on account of his rebellious attitude), an opinion got abroad that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Uzbegs.' The disaffected nobles, among whom was Ibrāhīm Khān the uncle of Khān Zamān, 'resolved to consult Alī Kulī Khān (Khān Zamān), who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country......After consultation...they determined to rebel.....Ibrāhīm Khān and Sikandar Khān went to Lucknow, full of hostile designs. Khān Zamān and his brother went to Karrā Mānikpūr, and there began their revolt.

'Āsaf Khān and Majnūn Khān (who was the *jāgīrdār* in that quarter) took a bold course, and went forth to confront the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position. When the statements of the *amīrs* reached the Emperor he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered Munīm Khān Khān-khānān to march in advance with a strong force, and cross over the river at Kanauj, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of *Shawwal* he crossed over the Jumnā, and marched to chastise the rebels...... On Friday, the 12th *Zi-l hijja*, the royal forces entered the citadel of Jaunpūr. Orders were given to Āsaf Khān and other nobles to cross over the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan, where Alī Kulī Khān and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels and act according to circumstances......

'Between Khān-khānān (who succeeded to the command of the Imperial army) and Khān Zamān there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a correspondence was opened, and it was agreed that Khān Zamān should wait upon Khān-khānān to discuss the terms of peace. The negotiations lingered on for four or five months, and war-like operations were suspended..................After a long discussion it was determined that Khān Zamān should send his mother, Alī Khān, and Ibrāhīm Khān his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offence. Upon receiving forgiveness the Khān and his brother and Sikandar Khān were to go to Court...... Ibrāhīm Khān, with uncovered head, and with a sword and shroud upon his neck, stepped forward, and Khān-khānān entreated forgiveness......and he trusted that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an eye of tenderness upon

the faults of such useful servants......The Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Khān-khānān, said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain faithful."......

The Emperor then went to visit the fort of Chunār, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jaunpūr to Benāres, and there rested several days. From thence he went to the fortress, and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened.........(Akbar, who had agreed to restore the *jāgīrs* of the recalcitrant nobles, stipulated : "So long as I remain in this neighbourhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must send their *vakīls* there, and *farmāns* for their *jāgīrs* shall then be issued, under which they may take possession.") But when the Emperor had gone to Chunār, Khān Zamān crossed the river, and went to Muhammadābād, one of the dependencies of Jaunpūr, and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Ghāzīpūr and Jaunpūr. As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this evil proceeding of Alī Kulī Khān's, and he said reproachfully to Khān-khānān, "No sooner than I left this place than Alī Kulī Khān broke the conditions of his pardon." Khān-khānān looked mortified, and endeavoured to make excuse.

'Orders were given to Ashraf Khān *Mīr Bakshī* to go to Jaunpūr, and make prisoner the mother of Alī Kulī Khān, who was in that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jaunpūr. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of....The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against Alī Kulī Khān.....The forces under the Emperor occupied the bank of the river Sarwar (Saru), and after searching all the jungles they found that Khān Zamān had gone off to the Siwālik hills. News now arrived that Bahādur Khān had gone to Jaunpūr, and liberated his mother. He made Ashraf Khān prisoner, and formed the design of making an attack upon the royal camp. Upon learning this the Emperor gave up the chase of Khān Zamān, and turned towards Jaunpūr..... where he ordered a pleasant site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built ; and the nobles also were to build suitable houses and places suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as Alī Kulī Khān and his brother should remain in this world, Jaunpūr should be the capital of the State. The royal forces were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them.

'When Alī Kulī heard of this he left the Siwālik hills, whither he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower to Court with a message. Khān-khānān .... once more made intercession for Khān Zamān; and the Emperor in his great kindness, once more pardoned his offences... Then as required, he expressed contrition for his faults, took an oath of fidelity, and bade his visitors farewell. The Emperor's opponents having repented of their unrighteous deeds, and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the 11th year of the reign, 973 H. (12th March, 1566).

Āsaf Khān's Surrender.

'The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of Alī Kulī Khān and other rebels, Madhī Kāsim Khān, one of the old nobles of the Imperial household, was sent with 3,000 or 4,000 men to Garha to settle the affairs of that country, and to capture Āsaf Khān. (During the campaign against Khān Zamān, he had suddenly absconded, being afraid lest he should be called on to render the account of his ill-gotten wealth from Chauragarh). Before Madhī Kāsim Khān arrived, Āsaf Khān quitted the fort of Chauragarh, and went off into the jungles. He wrote a letter full of humility and repentance, to the Emperor, asking permission to go on pilgrimage. Madhī Kāsim Khān on arriving in Garha, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of Āsaf Khān, who then wrote letters to Khān Zamān, proposing to go and join him. Khān Zamān wrote in reply, inviting him to come to him. Āsaf Khān, deceived by this, went to Jaunpūr; but at the very first audience he beheld the arrogance of Khān Zamān, and was sorry that he had come. (Then after some adventure he went to the Emperor, when he was at Lāhore in pursuit of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, and received pardon for his offences.)

Revolt of the Mīrzās.

'During the stay at Lāhore (also, a letter arrived from Āgrā, from Munīm Khān-khānān, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and Ulugh Mīrzā, by name Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā, Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, and Shāh Mīrzā, who held *jāgīrs* in the *sarkār* of Sambhal,[1] had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khān-khānān, had marched as far as Delhī to punish them, they had heard of his approach, and had gone off towards Māndū.

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1. These Mīrzās were Akbar's distant cousins, whose forebears had received favour at the hands of both Bābur and Humāyūn. To every one of them Akbar gave suitable *jāgīrs*, and advanced them to the dignity of *amīrs*. They were constantly in attendance

Khān Zamān's Final Suppression.

'A command was given that Āsaf Khān, along with Majnūn Khān (who had once previously resisted Khān Zamān), should go to Karrā-Mānikpūr, and provide for the safety of the dependent territories. Intelligence now arrived that Alī Kulī Khān, Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān had again broken their engagements and risen in rebellion (and caused the *khutbā* to be read in the name of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm—*Akbar Nāma,* ii, 359). Hereupon the Emperor placed their *vakīl* Mīrzā Mirak Rizwi in custody of Khān Baki Khān, and leaving the direction of the affairs of the Punjab in the charge of Mīr Muhammad Khān and all the Ātkas, on the 12th *Ramzān,* 974 H., (22nd March, 1567), he started on his return to Āgrā.

'Upon arriving at Āgrā, the Emperor was informed that Khān Zamān was besieging the fort of Shergarh, four *kos* distant from Kanauj....Nineteen days afterwards, the Emperor left Khān-khānān in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 23rd *Shawwal,* 974 H. marched towards Jaunpūr. When he reached the *pargaṇa* of Saket, Alī Kulī Khān decamped to his brother, who was in Mānikpūr..... when he reached the *pargaṇa* of Rāi Bareilly, he learnt that the rebels had crossed the river Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Kālpī (*Akbar-Nāma* says 'Gwālior'). He then directed his camp to proceed to the fort of Karrā, and then marched with all possible speed to the ferry of Mānikpūr. (There had been heavy rains ; the country was flooded and the river much swollen.—*Akbar-Nāma,* ii, p. 366). There he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1,000 to 1,500 men swam the river along with him. Āsaf Khān and Majnun Khān, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the enemy. It so happened that Alī Kulī Khān had occupied themselves all that night in wine-drinking and licentiousness, and were heedless of everything else. The war-like demonstrations against them they attributed to the daring of Majnūn Khān, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.

'On Sunday, the 1st *Zi-l hijja,* the Emperor made his dispositions for action. He himself took command of the centre. Āsaf Khān and all the Atkas were on the right ; Majnūn Khān and other

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upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his Jaunpūr campaign, they repaired to their *jāgīrs,* and remained in Sambhal. But when His Majesty went to Lāhore, to repress the attempt of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, they broke out in rebellion.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 315-16.)

amīrs were on the left.....The enemy, being now fully aware of the Emperor's advance, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their forces and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor.....As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant (Balsunder) and mounted a horse. Then he ordered the elephants to be driven against the lines of Alī Kulī Khān. There was among them an elephant named Hirānand, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Diyana; but Hirānand gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. Alī Kulī Khān received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged, in drawing it out, another arrow struck his horse. The animal became restive, and Alī Kulī Khān also was thrown. An elephant named Narsing now came up, and was about to crush him when Alī Kulī Khān cried out to the driver, "I am a great man; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him, and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nazar Bahādur placed Bahādur Khān behind him on a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the *amīrs* he was put to death. After a little while, the head of Alī Kulī (Khān Zamān) was also brought. The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for his victory. This battle was fought at the village of Mankarwal, one of the dependencies of Josi and Prayāg, now known as Illāhābād, on the 1st *Zi-l hijja*, 974 H.

'He then proceeded to Benāres. Every follower of Alī Kulī Khān who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From Benāres he went to Jaunpūr, and remained three days in sight of that city. Thence proceeding to the Karrā Mānikpūr fortress he rested there and sent word to Munīm Khān. The Khān-khānān, when he came, waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and government of the *jāgīrs* of Alī Kulī Khān and Bahādur Khān in Jaunpūr, Benāres, the fort of Chunār and Zamāniya, as far as the ferry of Chausa. He also received the present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season in *Zi-l hijja*, 974 H., the Emperor began his homeward march, and in *Muharram*, 975, arrived at Āgrā.'

(h) Conquest of Rājputāna

"In September 1567 Akbar resolved on the most famous and tragically interesting of his martial enterprises, the siege and capture of Chitor, which deserves narration in exceptional

detail," observes Smith.[1] The reasons for the undertaking are variously stated : the Rāṇā had given shelter to Bāz Bahādur after his flight from Mālwā; he had assisted the rebellious Mīrzās ; he had not come forward, like the ruler of Amber (Bihār Mal), to offer his submission or a princess of the blood royal in marriage to the Emperor, etc., etc. But the fact is, as Ishwari Prasad points out, "There could be no Indian Empire without the Rājputs, no social or political synthesis without their intelligent and active co-operation...The conquest of Mewār was therefore part of a larger enterprise, and the Emperor intended to treat it as a stepping-stone to his further conquest of the whole of Hindūstān."[2] "Akbar being determined to become the undisputed master of all Northern India, could not brook the independence of a chief who was 'proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court.'"[3] Amber had already come into the Imperial net ; the fall of Chitor was followed by the surrender of Rantambhor, Kālinjar, Jesalmir, Bikānir, and Jodhpūr.

It is well to recollect here also that Rāṇā Sanga, lion in the field of battle, had died about the same time as his vanquisher Bābur, in 1530 ; that his successor in vain had called upon Humāyūn for succour when Chitor was being attacked by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, in 1534 ; and that proud and hoary Chitor had lain prostrate and impotent before the adventurous Afghān, Sher Shāh in 1544. "It was the ill fate of Mewār to be cursed with a craven prince (Udai Singh) at the critical moment when India was ruled by the ablest, and perhaps the most ambitious, sovereign who has ever swayed her sceptre. 'Udai Singh,' Tod tells us, 'had not one quality of a sovereign; and wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all.' The historian of the Rājputs justly

1. *Akbar*, p. 81.
2. *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 363, 364-5.
3. Smith, loc. cit., p. 82.

exclaims that 'well had it been for Mewār had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of the princes.'"

1. The Siege of Chitor.

'Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of Alī Kulī Khān and other rebels,' writes Nizāmu-d dīn, 'he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor.' On his way thither, the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress the Mīrzās, who had fled from Sambhal and taken refuge in these parts. 'He therefore appointed Shāhbu-d dīn Ahmad Khān and other *amīrs* to *jāgīrs in Māndū*, and charged them with that duty. When the *amīrs* reached Ujjain, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mīrzās, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarāt. . . So the *amīrs* obtained possession of Māndū without opposition.

'When the Emperor marched from Gagrun, Rāṇā Udai Singh left 7,000 or 8,000 men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rājput named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mīrzā Sharāfu-d dīn Hussain, in the fort of Mairtha, as before related. The Rāṇā himself, with all his relatives and dependants, took refuge in the hills and jungles,—and soon built for himself a new capital at Udaipūr.

'The fort of Chitor is seated on a hill, which is about one *kos* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three *kos*. It contains plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the ground round the fort was portioned out among the different *amīrs*. The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Āsaf Khān was sent to Rāmpūr (about 50 miles south-east of Chitor), a prosperous town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood. Husain Kulī Khān was sent with a detachment towards Udaipūr and Kombalmir (34 miles north-west of Udaipūr), which is one of the chief fortresses in that country, and is the residence of the Rāṇā. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding no trace of the Rāṇā, he returned to the Imperial camp.

'When the siege of Chitor had been carried on some time, the Emperor ordered the construction of *sabats*,[2] and the digging of mines. About 5000 builders and carpenters and stone-masons were

1. Ibid., pp. 85-6.

2. 'A sabat is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*kucha*)

collected, and began their work of constructing *sabats* on two sides of the fort. While the *sabat* was in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily, although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide. Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time, the *sabat* was completed, and carried close to the fort. The miners also carried their mines to the foot of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together, they filled them with gun-powder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred, approached the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was affected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *mans* were carried to a distance of three or four *kos* from the walls, and also bodies of men who had been burnt were found. Saiyid Jamālu-d dīn and a great number of the Emperor's attendants were slain, and nearly 500 picked soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

'After this disaster, the pride and solicitude of the Emperor became still more intent upon the reduction of the fortress. A *sabat* which had been laid down in the battery of Shuja'at Khān was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 25th *Sha'ban*, 975, the Imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mal, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the *sabat*, and he had a musket in his hand. The face of Jai Mal was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died on the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the

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is conducted to the fortress. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The *sabat* which was conducted from the royal battery (*morchal-i-bādshāhī*) was so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and it was so high that an elephant-rider with his spear in his hand could pass under it.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 326.

fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place and burnt them.[1] This proceeding in the language of the infidels of Hind, is called *jauhar*. The royal forces were now massed, and they assaulted the breaches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to defend them, and fought most valiantly. His Majesty, seated on the *sabat*, beheld the exertions of his men with an approving eye. Adil Muhammad Kandahārī........and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8,000 Rājputs who were in the place received the reward of their deeds. After noon the slaughter was stayed, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Āsaf Khān was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital, on Tuesday, the 25th *Sha'ban*.[2]

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1. Among the heroic incidents that followed the death of Jai Mal was the fall of Patta, a lad of 16 summers ; but he was married, and 'lest any "soft compunctions visiting for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa," his mother armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Chitor saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such heroic deeds, the Rājputs became reckless of life.' Patta fell fighting, being crushed to death by an elephant. At the time Akbar saw him 'there was a breath of life in him, but he shortly afterwards died.' Akbar nobly commemorated his appreciation of these heroic sacrifices by erecting in his palace-garden fine statues in honour of Jai Mal and Patta. "One of the facts gratifying to national vanity, which helped to heal the wounds of the Rajput heart," says Smith, "was the erection of fine statues in honour of Jai Mal and Patta, the defenders of Chitor."—*Akbar*, pp. 93-6.

2. 'A curious incident in this siege was this : A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stall usually worn by archers, and just at the moment a gun was fired from the fortress and the ball passed within the length of a barley-corn from his thumb and did him no harm.'—Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 328).

'When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of Chitor, he vowed that if he were successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'inu-d dīn Chishtī, which is at Ajmir. In performance of this vow, he set off for Ajmir, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th *Ramzan*, he reached Ajmir. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the poor and needy glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital. (He reached Āgrā in March, 1568.)

'After a stay of some months at Āgrā, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantambhor,[1] renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindūstān. An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of Chitor....When the *amīrs* had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the Mīrzās, who had escaped from Gujarāt, and laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Mālwā. The Emperor then directed that Kalij Khān with the *amīrs* and the army that had been sent to Rantambhor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mīrzās.

2. Rantambhor.

The two forces united according to the order......The army had now grown very large. When the Mīrzās were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Māndū......All marched together in pursuit of the Mīrzās, who fled before them from Māndū to the banks of the Narbadā. They crossed the river in such confusion, that many of their men were drowned......The Mīrzās then fled to Gujarāt...The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place......

'The Emperor marched at the opening of the year (22nd Feb. 1569) towards Rantambhor, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, *sabats* constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon. Rāi Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence and he sent out his two sons, Dudh and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Husain Kulī Khān, who had received the title of Khān-Jahān into the fort to give assurances to Rāi

1. San. *Raṇastambhapura* is now in the SE corner of the Jaipūr State, a few miles from the Būndī border, and about 140 miles NE from Chitor.

Surjan. He did so and brought the Rāi to wait upon the Emperor when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the royal servants.[1]

3. Kālinjar.

'This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultāns had been ambitious of taking it. Sher Khān Afghān (Sher Shāh) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it. During the inter-regnum of the Afghāns, Rājā Rām Chandar had purchased the fort at a high price from Bijilli Khān...The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Rantambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held *jāgīrs* in the neighbourhood of Kālinjar were constantly forming plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Rājā Rām Chandar was an experienced and prudent man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victories achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Majnūn Khān, one of the *jāgīrdārs* of the quarter, and a friendly *farmān* was sent to Rājā Rām Chandar. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of *Safar*, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.[2]

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1. According to other accounts, Rājā Bhagwāndās of Amber and Mān Singh used their influence to 'make Surjan Hara (Chauhan) faithless to his pledge—"to hold the castle as a fief of Chitor"...The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent—the government of 52 districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without enquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the King.' (Smith, op. cit., pp. 98-9.)

2. Abu-l Fazl's rhetorical flourish about the conquest of this fortress is typical of his manner :—' When the report of the capture of Chitor and Rantambhor resounded in the ears of the haughty ones, every one whose eyes had been in a measure touched by the collirium of understanding saw that there was no remedy except to lay down the head of presumption on the ground of submission. Rājā Rāmchand, who possessed some rays of intelligence, heard of the arrival of the holy cortege at the capital and asked for quarter. He made over the fort to the Imperial servants and sent the keys along with splendid presents by confidential agents to the sublime threshold, and offered his congratulations on the recent victories. His wisdom and foresight were approved of, and his agents were

'When the Emperor was staying at Nagor, Chander Sen, son of Rāi Maldeo, came to pay his allegiance and make his offerings. Rājā Kalyāṇ Mal, the Rājā of Bikānir, also came with his son, Rāi Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being manifest, the Emperor married Kalyāṇ Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people of Nagor. From thence he proceeded to Ajodan, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Farīdu-d dīn Mäsūd Ganj-i Shakar. Rāi Kalyāṇ Mal, who was so fat that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikānir; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion.'

4. Jodpūr and Bikānir.

These campaigns by no means completed the reduction of Rājputāna. A still more arduous war remained to be waged against the intrepid Rāṇā Pratāp, who had 'the courage never to submit or yield.' But there was a respite of about seven years, from August 1569 to July 1576, before the 'sword of Islām' again struck the Hindū with his own hand. Meantime it is worthwhile taking note of some of the outstanding features and results of these early efforts. Whatever might have been Akbar's motives in the conquest, he had stormed and taken Mairtha, "the second city in Mārwār"; Rājā Bhārmal of Amber had "anticipated the King, enrolled himself and his son Bhagwāndās amongst his vassals, given the Chaghatai a daughter to wife, and held his country as a fief of the Empire." More had been achieved since. The proud Rāṇā had been driven to seek refuge in the hills; Chitor had been taken so also Rantambhor and Kālinjar. Jodhpūr and Bikānir too had submitted, at least for the time being. Tod characterises these events with the following observation :—

Results of the Rājput Campaigns.

received with favour. The government of the fort was made over to Majnūn Khān Kakshāl. By this felicity of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, such a fortress, upon whose battlements the eagle of the imagination of former rulers had never lighted, came into the possession of the Imperial servants without the trouble of a battle or contest.' (*Akbar-Nāma,* ii, p. 499.)

" Akbar was the real founder of the Empire of the Moguls, the first successful conqueror of Rājput independence ; to this his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to guild the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarised by habit, especially when the throne exerted its power in acts gratifying to national vanity, or even in ministering to more ignoble passions. But generations of the martial races were cut off by his sword, and lustres rolled away ere his conquests were sufficiently confirmed.....He was long ranked with Shābudīn, Allāudīn, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim ; like these he constructed a *Mumba* (pulpit) for the *Korān* from the altars of Eklinga ; yet he finally succeeded in healing wounds his ambition had inflicted, and received from millions that meed of praise, which no other of his race ever obtained." [1]

Akbar came into contact with three distinct types of Rājputs : (1) those like Amber that easily submitted, and were readily assimilated into the Imperial system ; (2) those that put up a decent fight or came to an honourable settlement with the conqueror, like Rantambhor ; and (3) those that refused to be assimilated, and sought refuge either in flight or persistent fight, like the Rāṇās of Mewār. The first two by their submission showed a spirit of compromise and assimilation which was quite necessary in the building up of a united nation towards which Akbar was bending the whole might of his genius ; the last, by its eternal hatred, unconquerable pride, and courage never to submit or yield, contributed its own quota to the strength and nobility of our national character. The treaty that was drawn up between Akbar and the Hārās is noteworthy for its dignified statesmanship :—

The *Annals of Būndī* record—' A treaty was drawn up on the spot, and mediated by the Prince of Amber (Jaipūr), which

1. Tod, *Rājasthān*, i, p. 338.

presents a good picture of Hindū feeling. They were (1) that the chiefs of Būndī should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rājput, of sending a *dola* (bride) to the royal *harem*; (2) exemption from the *jizya* or poll-tax; (3) that the chiefs of Būndī should not be compelled to cross the Attock; (4) that the vassals of Būndī should be exempted from the obligation of sending female relatives "to hold a stall in the Mina bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of *Nauroz* (New Year's Day); (5) that they should have the privilege of entering the *Diwān-i-ām*, or "Hall of Audience" completely armed; (6) that their sacred edifices should be respected; (7) that they should never be placed under the command of a Hindū leader; (8) that their horses should not be branded with the Imperial *dāgh* (a flower branded on the forehead); (9) that they should be allowed to beat their *nakkaras*, or kettle-drums, in the streets of the capital as far as the Lāl Darwāzā or Red Gate; (10) that they should not be commanded to make the "prostration" (*sijda*) on entering the presence; and (11) that Būndī should be to the Hārās what Delhī was to the King, who should guarantee them from any change of capital.'[1]

But, as noted above, "the most famous and tragically interesting" of Akbar's martial enterprises, *viz.*, the destruction of Chitor which was "sanctified by the memory of eight centuries of heroic deeds and heart-rending tragedies, wounded deeply the Rājput soul. The place became accursed, and to this day no successor of Udai Singh would dare to set foot within the limits of the once sacred stronghold of his ancestors. The 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor' like the 'curse of Cromwell' in Ireland, has become proverbial, and the memory of it is kept alive, or was so kept a hundred years ago, by a curious custom. It is said that Akbar estimated the total of the Rājput dead by collecting and weighing the 'Brāhmanical cords' (*janeo* or *zanar*), which it is the privilege and obligation of high caste men to wear. The recorded amount was 74½ *mans* of

1. Cited by Smith, op. cit., p. 99.

about eight pounds each. ['To eternise the memory of this disaster the numerals 74½ are *tilak* or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Rājasthān it is the strongest of seals, for "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number.'] The wrath of the conqueror fell upon what Tod calls the 'symbols of regality' as well as the persons of the vanquished. The gates of the fortress were taken off their hinges and removed to Āgrā. The *nakkaras,* or huge kettledrums, eight or ten feet in diameter, the reverberations of which had been wont to proclaim 'for miles around the entrance and exit of her princes,' as well as the massive candelabra from the shrine of the 'Great Mother,' who had girt Bāppā Rāwal with the sword by which Chitor was won, were also taken away. ......The recreant Rāṇā Udai Singh (who had fled to the Arāvallis at Akbar's approach, and founded there his new capital of Udaipūr) died at Gogūndā in the Arāvalli hills four years after the storm of the fortress which he should have defended in person. His valiant successor, Rāṇā Pratāp Singh (about whom later), waged a long war with Akbar, and gradually recovered much of Mewār. But Chitor remained desolate."[1]

(i) Conquest of Gujarāt

The rich province of Gujarāt had been won and lost by Humāyūn, and Akbar could therefore put forth some legitimate claim for its reconquest. "The possession of numerous ports and the resulting extensive maritime commerce made Gujarāt the richest kingdom in India. Ahmadābād, the capital, was justly reputed to be one of the finest cities in the world, while the manufacture of salt, cloth, paper, and other commodities flourished in many localities." The confusion into which Gujarāt fell soon after the death of Bahādur Shāh has already been hinted at. 'In the Court of the Emperor,'

1. Ibid., pp. 90-2. Read "Chitor and Its Sieges" by R. R. Haladar in *Indian Antiquary,* August 1930.

writes Nizāmu-d dīn, 'conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarāt, and information was often brought about the oppression and wilfulness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities.[1] Now that His Majesty's mind was quite set at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarāt.'

Akbar marched out from his capital on 4th July, 1572, and 'proceeded, enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmir.' He also visited the tombs of some of the saints, 'and gladdened the hearts of the *shaikhs* and attendants with his munificent gifts.' Then he sent Mīrzā Muhammad Khān Atkā, 'better known by the title of Khān-i kalān,' with 10,000 horse in advance. The Emperor himself marched *via* Nagor, Mirath, and Sirohi, and sent one of his officers, to make sure of the territory of Jodhpūr, and keep the road to Gujarāt open, so that none of the Rāṇās might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon Rāi Singh Bikānirī, who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. *Farmāns* were (also) written to the *amīrs* and *jāgīrdārs* of that province, directing them to render Rāi Singh every assistance he might require.....

'The Emperor .... arrived in Pātan, and rested there for a week. The government of the country was
1. Ahmadābād.
conferred upon Saiyid Ahmad Khān Barha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the Saiyids of Hindūstān. At this halt Rājā Mān Singh returned, bringing in a large booty, which he had taken from the remnant of the Afghāns. The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadābād. Sher Khān Fulādī had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadābād, which was held by Itimād Khān ('The slave and prime minister of Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī,' originally a Hindū slave—Badāunī, ii, p. 141 ; *Āīn.*, ii, p. 385) ; but when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The

1. "The country was at that time without a settled government being divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal King, Muzaffar Shāh III, a prince of doubtful legitimacy, exercised little authority. Such a condition of affairs seemed almost to demand the interposition of a power capable of enforcing order. Akbar, in fact, was actually invited by one of the local princelings named Itimād Khān to put an end to the prevailing anarchy." (Smith, op. cit., p. 110.)

Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Pātan, when Sultān Muzaffar, son of Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī, whom Itimād Khān had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor...The next day, Itimād Khān, the ruler of Ahmadābād,.....and other *amīrs* and chiefs of Gujarāt, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and make their offerings. Itimād Khān presented the keys of Ahmadābād, and showed every sign of submission. The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the *Habshī* (Abyssinian), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and royally towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th *Rajab*, pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadābād (Sābarmatī). The *khutbā* was read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings.

2. Cambay.

'Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā and Muhammad Husain Mīrzā held Broach, Barodā, and Surat in defiance of the Emperor. So he resolved to free the country of Gujarāt from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd *Sha'ban*, he started from the river of Ahmadābād, and marched towards Cambay. Itimād Khān and other Gujarātī *amīrs* were, at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmadābād for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujarāt, fled...from Ahmadābād to Ahmadnagar. As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujarāt, Itimād Khān was given into the custody of Shāhbaz Khān Kambū. On the 6th the Emperor reached Cambay. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Cambay on the 12th, he reached Barodā on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujarāt, he appointed Mīrzā Azīz Muhammad Kokaltash, the *Khān-i āzam*, to be the governor of the country, and especially of its capital Ahmadābād.' Here it is necessary to note that while at Cambay, for the first time, Akbar received a body of Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects, and thus made his first acquaintance with the Christians, which event was fraught with great consequences in the future.

3. Battle of Sarnal.

'After the departure of Āzam Khān, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat which was the home and stronghold of the Mīrzās. To effect this purpose he sent Saiyid Mahmūd Khān Barha, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Kunwar Mān Singh, and several

others to overpower Husain Mīrzā, who was in Surat. Next day, 17th *Sha'ban,* when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibrāhīm Khān Mīrzā, having heard at Broach of the Emperor's advance had murdered Rustum Khān Rūmī ('who was desirous of returning to his allegiance'—*Akbar-Nāma*), and then left the town, intending to pass about eight *kos* distance from the Emperor's camp, and to raise disturbances and rebellion elsewhere.

'Hearing of this the Emperor's wrath was kindled......The remainder of the night and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahindri. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā was in the town of Sarnal, on the other side of the river. When they heard this the Emperor's followers endeavoured to conceal themselves.......Kunwar Mān Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men, the Emperor without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over....Every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Bhūpat, son of Rājā Bihār Mal, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a contracted spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was hedged in with thorns. The Emperor had, with great courage, gone to the front, and Rājā Bhagwān Dās had kept with him. Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Rājā. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Rājā Bhagwān Dās hurled his spear at him, so that he withdrew. The other two assaulted His Majesty, who received them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off.

'The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā was disheartened and took to flight.....The Emperor went into the town of Sarnal, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in *jāgīrs*....On Wednesday, the 18th *Sha'ban*...the Emperor rejoined his camp at Barodā. Next day he conferred a banner and a kettle-drum on Rājā Bhagwān Dās, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

4. Surat.

'The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said that a slave of Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī, who received the title of Khudāwand Khān, built this fortress on the

sea-shore (really on the bank of the river Tāpī, 20 miles from the sea), in the year 947 H., in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, for before the fort was built, the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the Musalmans. When Khudāwand was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times fitted out ships to attack it but could not succeed in their object.....On the two sides of the fort which faces the land, he formed ditches reaching to the water, which were 20 yards wide, and filled with water ; they were built of stone, *chunam*, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls is five yards, and height twenty yards.... It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with cramps of iron, having molten lead poured into the interstices. The battlements and embrasures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a *choukhandi* which, in the opinion of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of this fortress by force of arms, they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudāwand, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the structure..........

'When the Emperor returned from Sarnal to Barodā, he renewed his design of conquering Surat.....The Emperor sent Rājā Todar Mal to examine and ascertain precisely the inlets and outlets of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report. His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Barodā.... and encamped at a distance of a *kos* from Surat on the 18th *Ramzān*. On the same night he went up and reconnoitred the fort. He distributed the batteries among the *amīrs*, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it.

'The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress and egress was closed......Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of to-day or to-morrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs, they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress. The wretched disloyal Ham-zabān and all the people in the fort sent out Maulāna Nizāmu-d dīn Lāri, who was a student and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter....His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition........Lāri returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded. A royal order was

then issued for Kāsim Alī Khān.......to proceed into the fortress with the Maulāna, to give assurances to the men of the garrison and to bring them out with him. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy clerks to be sent in to seize upon all property, live-stock and dead-stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor.......In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-zabān and some others, who were the instigators of all the strife, were punished and kept in custody. This conquest was effected on the 23rd *Shawwal*, in the year 980 H., (the siege having lasted one month and seventeen days).—26th Feb., 1573.

5. Pātan.

'While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā to Hindūstān, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Sarnal, Ibrāhīm fled to the neighbourhood of Pātan, where he joined Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Surat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibrāhīm should go into Hindūstān and create disturbances, while the other two Mīrzās laid siege to Pātan; their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Surat, and fall back upon Ahmadābād, to repress these two outbreaks........

'They invested Pātan. Saiyid Ahmad Khān Barha (the governor) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders....to repress this rebellious attempt. The nobles accordingly joined Āzam Khān and marched to Pātan...The Mīrzās fell upon the advance and defeated it.....When Āzam Khān saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Bukhārī, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight....When the enemy's men dispersed in search of plunder, and there remained but a few in array, Āzam Khān....formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side...Muhammad Husain Mīrzā fled to the Dakhin. This victory was won on the 18th *Ramzān*, 980.'

In March, 1573, 'the Emperor arrived at Ahmadābād and there he entrusted the government of Gujarāt to Khān-i āzam (Mīrzā Kokā). On the 10th *Zi-hijja*, the *Id-zuha*, he commenced his journey to the capital. On his way Muzaffar Khān (late King of Gujarāt) receivdd the Imperial bounty: The *sarkārs* of Sārang-

pūr and Ujjain in Mālwā were taken from the Rāṇī and granted to him, with fifty *lacs of tankās* in *jāgīr*.... At one stage from Ajmir, the Emperor received the communication from Said Khān, the governor of Multān, to inform him of the death of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā........On the 12th *Muharram* 981, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwājā Muinu-d dīn Chishtī, and observed the usual ceremonies, and dispensed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances.

6. Rebellion in Gujarāt.

'When the Emperor returned from Gujarāt, there remained no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands of his servants, and such of his troops as had not served on the campaigns were sent to strengthen Āzam Khān. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outbreaks came in time after time; and Āzam Khān himself wrote for reinforcements.

'The rebels, having assembled round Ikhtiyāru-l got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory. Muhammad Husain Mīrzā left the Dakhin with the intention of attempting the recapture of Surat. Kaliji Khān, who was *jāgīrdār* of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege; so Husain Mīrzā gave up the project and made a rapid march upon Cambay. (On his way he got possession of Broach. Hasan Khān Karkarah, the *Shikkdār*, being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadābād................ At length the Mīrzā was worsted, and fled to join Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk. Āzam Khān, who had marched against Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him, and fighting went on for several days between Ahmadnagar and Idar with no decisive result............

'Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk, Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, and the other insurgents, got together a force of 20,000 men—Mughals, Gujarātīs, Hubshīs, Afghāns, and Rājputs—around Ahmadābād. The Rājā of Idar also kept up a connexion with them............Khān-i āzam daily sent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for help. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gujarāt, to clear the country of the rebels, and to uproot their families........ In the early morning of Sunday, 24th *Rabi' u-l akhir*, 981, the Emperor with his companions and attendants mounted swift she-camels and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Toda (about 70 miles W. by S. from Āgrā) without drawing rein. There he ate what he could get, and rode on......On Tues-

day, he reached the tomb of Chishtī at Ajmir (140 *kos;* "228 miles," —Thornton), where he went through the usual observances and bestowed his gifts upon the poor......

'Although the horsemen under his colours were only 3000 in number, and the enemy had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Bhilsān towards Ahmadābād. A messenger was sent to apprise Khān-i āzam of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 3rd *Jumada awwal,* he reached Kari, a town 20 *kos* from Ahmadābād. The scouts now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle. Orders were accordingly given to attack them and drive them from the road but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort.........Āsaf Khān was sent to Khān-i āzam, to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction. *Thus, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Fathpūr to the outskirts of Ahmadābād, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe.*'

Battle of Ahmadābād.

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine, were asleep on the bed of heedlessness, quite unaware of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unawares, and that they would wait till he was roused. When the blast of the trumpets was heard, the enemy, amazed and alarmed, rushed to their horses......The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the forces came up and took them in the flank . . . Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled.....Muhammad Husain Mīrzā had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a thornhedge, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner......Victory now declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouchsafed. (Sept. 2, 1573).

'Gada Alī Badakhshī and a servant of the Khān-i kalān now brought in the wounded Muhammad Husain Mīrzā a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Rājā Bīrbal[1] asked

1. His original name was Brahma Dās, and he was, according to Badāunī, 'a bard who was distinguished above all his compeers

him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty"; and he spoke the truth.' Both Husain Mīrzā and Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk were executed. Then the Emperor ordered that a pyramid should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and these were more than 2,000 in number. After this he proceeded into Ahmadābād, and occupied the royal abode which is in the citadel. The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and congratulations. . . . His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. Eloquent scribes were employed to write despatches of the victory, and the heads of Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk were sent to be hung up over the gates of Āgrā and Fathpūr.'

7. Final settlement of Gujarāt.

This sharp action broke the back of the rebellion in Gujarāt. Having accomplished this, he appointed Kutub-d dīn Muhammad Khān and Naurang Khān to Broach and Chāmpānīr, to uproot the power of Shāh Mīrzā yet remaining to be subdued. Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Shāh Kulī Mahram, and several others were sent to Idar, to ravage the country which Rāṇā Udai Singh had abandoned. The government of Pātan was again confided to Khān-i kalān. Khwājā Ghiyāsu-d dīn Alī Bakshī, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of Āsaf Khān (II), and he was appointed *dīwān* and *bakshī* of Gujarāt. So he remained behind with Khān-i āzam, who was entrusted with the full charge of the province as before. The Emperor left Ahmadābād on Sunday, 16th *Jumada-l awwal*; "he was back in Fathpūr-Sīkrī within forty-three days from the time he had ridden out. Considering the distance travelled, *Akbar's second Gujarāt expedition may be described safely as the quickest campaign on record*. The

for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindī verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of Kab Rāi, chief of poets.' . . . Later, 'the Emperor, having given to Kab Rāi the title of Rājā Bīrbal, bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 356.

victor, spear in hand, rode proudly into his capital, on Monday, October 5, 1573."[1]

'The revenues of Gujarāt had not been paid up satisfactorily,' says Nizāmu-d dīn; 'so the Rājā (Todar Mal) was sent to ascertain and settle the assets, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer.' This capable officer, about whom we shall learn more later, "effected the measurement of the greater part of the lands in the short space of six months. The province, as reorganised, yielded more than five millions of rupees annually to the Emperor's private treasury, after the expenses of the administration had been defrayed. The work so well begun by Rājā Todar Mal was continued by another revenue expert, Shihābu-d dīn Ahmad Khān, who was viceroy from 1577 to 1583 or 1584. He rearranged the *sarkārs* or administrative districts, so that sixteen were included in the province. The conquest of 1573 was final, although disturbances continued to occur. Gujarāt remained under the government of the Imperial viceroys until 1758, when Ahmadābād was definitely taken by the Mahrāttas...... *Akbar's system of administration may be said to have been definitely planned in 1573 and 1574, immediately after the conquest of Gujarāt.*"[2]

(j) Conquest of Bihār and Bengal

Bihār and Bengal had been overrun by the Mughals, but not wholly subdued. Humāyūn had occupied Gaur, the capital of Bengal, for a short period, but he was immediately driven out by the Afghāns. The Sūrs had established their sovereignty up to the borders of Assam. 'Suleimān Kirānī, one of the *amīrs* of Salīm Shāh, and ruler of Bengal and Bihār, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign, in the year 981 H.[3] His eldest son Bāyazīd

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 120
2. Ibid., pp. 120-21.
3. The correct year of his death, according to Smith, is 980 (1572), as in Badāunī, ii. 166, not 981 (1573) as above. Suleimān's

succeeded, but he was murdered by the *amīrs* ('In consequence of his evil conduct.'—Badāunī, ii, p. 173), and the younger son raised to the throne.

'The Emperor was informed that Dāūd had stepped out of his proper sphere, and assumed the title of King, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patnā, which Khān Zamān built when he was ruler of Jaunpūr,[1] A *farmān* was immediately sent to Khān-khānān, directing him to chastise Dāūd, and to conquer the country of Bihār.

1. Fall of Patnā and Hājīpūr.

'At that time Dāūd was at Hājīpūr, and his chief noble, Lodī, who was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Rohtās, and set up a claim to independence. Khān-khānān Munīm Khān marched with the Imperial forces against Patnā and Hājīpūr. Lodī, knowing the destruction of the Afghāns to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Dāūd, made a sort of peace with Khān-khānān. The old friendship and respect which Khān-khānān had for the late Suleimān Kirānī led him to agree that, upon the payment of two *lacs* of *rupees* in money and one *lac* in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial forces should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jalāl Khān Krorī, he entered into a peace with Dāūd.

'But Dāūd was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Katlu Khān and Sridhar Hindū Bengālī, and through his own want of judgment, he seized Lodī his *Amiru-l umara* (prime minister), and put him in confinement under the charge of Srīdhar Bengālī. When in prison, Lodī sent for Katlu and Srīdhar, and sent Dāūd this message : "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it ; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good : After I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be

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death seems to have been 'much regretted by his subjects, and (he was) highly respected by all his contemporaries.'—Ibid., p. 124.

1. Dāūd found himself in possession of an immense treasure, 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, 140,000 infantry, 20,000 guns of various calibres, 3,600 elephants, and several hundred war-boats—a force which seemed sufficient justification for a contest with Akbar.—Ibid.

too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time." But the power of Dāūd and of all the Afghāns was on the wane : it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Dāūd resolved to put Lodī out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his satisfaction . . . So, in the pride and intoxication of youth, he listened to the words of his sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Dāūd became the master of his elephants, his treasure and his troops. But he was puffed up with conceit and folly, and took no precautions for combating his enemies, and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Lodī had concluded, he banished all care.

'When the death of Lodī was reported to Khān-khānān, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakhnauti and marched against Patnā and Hājīpūr. . . The Emperor, when he heard of this, determined personally to direct the operations. After resting for a few days at Fathpūr, he sent off his camp and elephants by land, under the command of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Rizwī, one of his chief *amīrs*. He placed Āgrā in charge of Shāhbu-d dīn Ahmad Khān Naishapurī, and embarked on board a boat on Sunday, the last day of *Safar*, 982 H. (15th June, 1574). The boats carried all his equipments and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen-utensils, stud, etc. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodation, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the *amīrs* for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats. . . . . Every day he left the boat and went hunting on shore ('In the evening they cast anchor, and the Emperor engaged in discussions upon science, and poetry, etc.,—Badāunī, ii, p. 176). Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops . . . . . . On the 28th he reached Kori, a dependency of Jaunpūr, at the confluence of the Gūmtī and Ganges, and there anchored. Here he was waited upon by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, who had brought down the army by land.

'On the 2nd *Rabiu-s sani* he reached a village near Jaunpūr. Here a despatch arrived from Khān-khānān, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 3rd he departed on his campaign against Bengal. On the 4th the boats fell down the Gūmtī to the Ganges, and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, the commander of the army, waited on His Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal flotilla. . . . . . . Khān-khānān and the other *amīrs* advanced two *kos* from Patnā to meet the Emperor, who on the 16th reached his destination, and took up his residence in the tents of Khān-khānān. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were

made. On the 17th Akbar held a council of war....He thought that the best course to follow was to first reduce the fort of Hājīpūr (which stood opposite Patnā, with the Ganges, about two *kos* in width, flowing between them—*Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 73), which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patnā. The Khāns greatly applauded this scheme......Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor. Fath Khān Barha, commander of Hājīpūr, and many Afghāns were slain, and the place fell into the hands of the Mughals. The head of Fath Khān Barha and the heads of other Afghāns were thrown into boats, and sent to Dāūd, that he might see with his own eyes, what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Dāūd's eyes fell upon these heads, he was plunged into dismay, and set his mind upon flight....Srīdhar Bengālī, who was Dāūd's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Rājā Bikramjit, placed his valuables and treasure in a boat and followed him.......

'Late at night, when the flight of Dāūd was reported, the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and as soon as it was light, Khān-khānān having assured himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and paraded before His Majesty. The date of the fall of Patnā, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is found in this line, "*Mulk-i Suleimān zi Dāūd raft*" (983).

Smith here reflects, 'The capture of so great a city in the middle of the rainy season was an almost unprecedented achievement and a painful surprise to the Bengal prince. He had reckoned on Akbar following the good old Indian custom of waiting until the *Dasarā* festival in October to begin a campaign. But Akbar resembled his prototype, Alexander of Macedon, in his complete disregard of adverse weather conditions, and so was able to win victories in defiance of the *shāstras* and the seasons."[1]

2. Garhi and Tanda Captured.

'The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made a proclamation of amnesty to the inhabitants, he left Khan-khānān in command of the army, while he himself dashed off in pursuit of Gujar Khān (Dāūd's minister).... When he reached the Pūnpūn (river near Patnā), he swam over on horseback, and the *amīrs* and soldiers followed his example......

1. Ibid., p. 128.

Then he gave orders for every man and officer to press on with all his might in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward...... The Emperor stayed at Daryāpūr six days. He appointed Khān-khānān to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20,000 horse. He increased his military allowances 25 or 30 per cent., he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Āgrā, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khān-khānān and other *amīrs*..........

'The Emperor remained at Jaunpūr thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jaunpūr, Benāres, the fort of Chunār, and sundry other *mahāls* and *parganas* directly under the royal exchequer, and he gave the managment of them to Mīrzā Mirak Rizwī and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sikr.

'When Dāūd fled from Patnā, he went to Garhi. Leaving some trusty men there, he proceeded to the town of Tanda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Garhi that in his vain idea it was impregnable. Khān-khānān marched against Tanda, and arrived near Garhi. (He had already made himself master of Sūrajgarh, Mongīr, and Bhagalpūr. *Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 84) As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afghāns fell upon his army, they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Garhi without striking a blow. This intelligence greatly pleased the Emperor, and he sent letters of commendation to Khān-khānān and the other *amīrs*. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he went, he arrived, on the 8th *Jumada-s sani*, at the town of Iskandarpūr, where he received the intelligence of the fall of Tanda. After taking possession of the fort of Garhi, the Imperial forces marched on towards Tanda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Bengal. Khān-khānān's explorers at first reported that Dāūd intended to make a stand there, and had made his dispositions. Khān-khānān thereupon summoned his *amīrs*, and took every precaution for the security of his army. Next day he marshalled his forces and advanced upon Tanda. When Dāūd's spies carried him the intelligence of Khān-khānān's advance, he and his associates thought of the black night of Patnā, and fled in dismay, abandoning the town. Thus on the 4th *Jumada-s sani*, the capital of Tanda was won for the Emperor without fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issued to the people..... The Emperor arrived at Fathpūr on the last day of *Ramzān* (January 18, 1575—after seven months of strenuous travelling and campaigning).

3. Dāūd's Defeat at Tukaroi.

'After the conquest of Tanda and the flight of Dāūd, Khān-khānān sent Rājā Todar Mal with some other *amīrs* towards Orissa, in pursuit of Dāūd...... Rājā Todar Mal reached Madaran (in the Hūglī District, between Burdwān and Midnāpūr), was informed by his scouts that Dāūd was engaged collecting men in Dīn-kasarī, and that his forces were daily increasing.' Todar Mal informed Khān-khānān of this and got reinforcements. 'Upon their arrival all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching to Gowalpara, ten *kos* from Dīn-kasarī, with all speed. When Dāūd heard this, he did not fly, but stood his ground at Dārpūr.....................Rājā Todar Mal halted and sent swift messengers to inform Khān-khānān of the position of affairs. Khān-khānān then left Tanda to march against Dāūd, and he formed a junction with Rājā Todar Mal. Dāūd had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afghāns entrenched their camp. On the 20th *Zi-l kada*, 982, the armies met (3rd March, 1575) at Tukaroi, now in the Balasore District (between Midnāpūr and Jalesar). After the array was formed, the Afghāns advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khān-khānān ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (*zarb-zan*) and light guns (*zanburak*) which were mounted on *arabas* in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghān attack, and the musketry mowed down the Afghāns who were in the advance........An arrow struck Gujar Khān (Dāūd's general) and brought him down. When the Afghāns saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled; but many of them were cut down in the flight. Rājā Todar Mal and others who were upon the right now charged the left of the enemy. Shaham Khān and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Dāūd. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of the army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them..... the death of Gujar Khān came to the knowledge of Dāūd. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khān-khānān encamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword.'

Peace with Dāūd.

Dāūd fled to Cuttack, in Orissa, but was pursued by Rājā Todar Mal and others. 'Dāūd had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gujar Khān, his main-stay and support, was slain. Death stared him in the face; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khān-khānān with

this message : "The striving to crush a party of Musalmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject ; but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal, sufficient for my support, may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel." The *amīrs* communicated this to Khān-khānān, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal, upon the condition that Dāūd himself should come out to meet Khān-khānān, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths. (The Rājā Todar Mal, who well understood the position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet, to prevent the armistice, met with no support. He refused to take any part in the settlement.—*Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 108).

'Dāūd protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up, and then Khān-khānān brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Dāūd, said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you. I now gird you afresh with this warlike sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands ; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Khān-khānān started on his return. On the 10th *Safar*, 983, he sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khān-khānān, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

4. Final defeat and death of Dāūd.

'When Khān-khānān, with his mind at ease about Dāūd, returned to Tanda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his destiny, he took a dislike to Tanda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal, and he ordered that all soldiers and *raiyats* should remove from Tanda to Gaur.

'In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tanda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave

(*az Gaur ba gor*), and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river. Every day deaths of many *amīrs* and officers were reported to Khān-khānān, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days in the month of *Safar*, 983, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Shaham Khān in command, and made report of the facts to the Emperor. Khān-khānān had no son, so all his property escheated to the royal exchequer, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khān-jahān, who had been supreme governor of the Punjāb, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *amīru-l umara*, commended the *raiyats* and the people to his care, bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly caparisoned horse, and dismissed him to his government.

'While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmir, the intelligence was brought to him that Dāūd Afghān had flung away the treaty which he had made with Khān-khānān, had risen against the royal authority, and had marched against Tanda. The Imperial forces in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to Hājīpūr and Patnā. All this commotion had arisen because Khān-jahān had taken time in going there, in consequence of his army being at Lāhore. . . . The Khān took the field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with 3000 men whom Dāūd had left in charge of Garhi, and took the place. Nearly 1500 of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.'

On July 22nd, 1576, when Akbar was at Fathpūr, 'messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khān-jahān, after the capture of Garhi, had advanced to the vicinity of Tanda. There he found that Dāūd had evacuated Tanda, and had taken up a position in the village of Ak. On one side was a river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khān-jahān marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwājā Abdullā, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghān entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order

to Mazaffar Khān, the governor of Patnā and Bihār, to assemble all the troops in his province, and march to the assistance of Khān-jahān.........He sent by *dāk-chaukī* five *lacs* of rupees towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Āgrā, for the use of the army ....The Emperor himself set off from Fathpūr, but at five *kos* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Here he was waited upon by Abdullā Khān, whom he had sent as a messenger to Khān-jahān, and who now returned to cast the head of Dāūd at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Rejoiced at the victory he returned to the capital.'

The *Tārīkh-i Dāūdī* closes with the following observations :— 'Dāūd Shāh Kirānī was brought in a prisoner, his horse having fallen with him. Khān-jahān, seeing Dāūd in this condition, asked him if he called himself a Musalman, and why he had broken the oaths which he had taken on the *Kurān* and before God. Dāūd answered that he had made the peace with Munīm Khān personally ; and that if he had now gained the victory, he would have been ready to renew it. Khān-jahān ordered them to relieve his body from the weight of his head, which he sent to Akbar the King.. ....*From that period the dominion of Hindūstān departed from the tribe of Afghāns, and their dynasty was extinguished for ever, in lieu of which arose the star of Akbar Shāh's supremacy over the whole country.*' "The independent kingdom of Bengal, which had lasted for about two hundred and thirty-six years (1340-1576)," writes Smith, "perished along with Dāūd, 'the dissolute scamp, who knew nothing of the business of governing.'"[1]

(k) Rāṇā Pratāp's Glorious Resistance : 1572-97

We have noted already how Akbar's conquest of Rājputāna was almost complete but for the flight of Rāṇā Udai Singh of Mewār, who sought refuge in the Aravallis where he

1. Ibid., p. 146. "Bengal chiefs' struggle for independence in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr," by N. K. Bhattasali, in *Bengal, Past and Present*, "Mughal Pathān conflict in Bengal" by Sir J. N. Sarkar, in Jan. to Mar. 1928 ; and *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, XLII, 1-2, 1935.

founded his new capital of Udaipūr. "Four years had Udai Singh survived the loss of Chitore," writes Tod, "when he expired at Gogunda, at the early age of forty-two, yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare."[1] "Pratāp succeeded to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clan dispirited by reverses ; yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Chitore, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its power. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist (Akbar), nor stooped to calculate the means which were opposed to him[2]........The wily Mughal arrayed against Pratāp his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Mārwār, Amber, Bikānir, and even, Būndī, late his firm ally, took part with Akbar and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother Sāgorjī, deserted him, and received as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

"But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pratāp, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent' ; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstand the combined efforts of the Empire ; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and raring the nursling heir Amar (his son), amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that 'the son of Bāppā Rāwal should bow the head to mortal man,' was insupportable ; and he

1. Tod, op. cit., i, p. 343.

2. "The empire of Akbar during the last quarter of the 16th century," says Smith, "was the most powerful in the world, and its sovereign was immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth....Even in 1576 the amount of his horded riches must have been stupendous, and none but the bravest of the brave could have dared to match the chivalry of poverty-stricken Mewār against the glittering host of rich Hindūstān."—Smith, op. cit., p. 148.

spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family by marriage with the Tartar, though lord of countless multitudes.

"The brilliant acts he achieved during that period (1572-97) live in every valley; they are enshrined in the heart of every true Rājput, and many are recorded in the annals of the conquerors.[1] To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance which had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and melt, as they recite them, into manly tears.........To commemorate the desolation of Chitore, which the bardic historian represents as a 'widow despoiled of the ornaments of her loveliness', Pratāp interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury and pomp until the insignia of her glory should be redeemed[2]....with the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Pratāp remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the service required. Kombalmir (or Kumb-

1. *Cf.* Smith :—"The historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and unlimited means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition seldom had a word of sympathy to spare for the gallant foes whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. *The vanquished, it may be, were greater than the victor*."—Ibid., p. 254.

2. "The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for *patras* or leaves, their beds henceforth of straw, and their beards left untouched. But in order distinctly to mark their fallen fortune and stimulate to its recovery, he commanded that the martial *nakaras*, which always sounded in the van of battle or processions, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the depression of Mewār still survives; the beard is yet untouched by the shears; and even in the subterfuge by which the patriot king's behest is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory: for though his descendant eats off gold and silver and sleeps upon a bed, he places the leaves beneath the one and straw under the other."—Tod, op. cit., i, p. 347.

halgarh, situated on a mountain, near the western border of Mewār, about 40 miles to the north of Udaipūr city), now the seat of government, was strengthened as well as Gogunda and other mountain fortresses; and being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewār, he followed the system of his ancestors, and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts watered by the Bunas and the Beris, from the Arāvalli chain west, to the eastern tableland, was '*be chiragh,*' without a lamp..........."

Battle of Haldīghāt or Gogūndā.

Nizāmu-d dīn, whose account we have mostly followed for other events of Akbar's reign, gives only a very brief description of this glorious fight for independence: 'Rāṇā Kīkā (as he calls Rāṇā Pratāp) was chief among the Rājās of Hindūstān. After the conquest of Chitore, he built a town called Kokanda (Gogūndā), with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hindūwārā. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kunwar Mān Singh drew near to Kokanda, Rāṇā Kīkā called all the Rājās of Hindūstān to his aid, and came out of Ghātī Haldeo (Haldīghāt) with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kunwar Mān Singh, in agreement with his *amīrs*, put his troops in array and marched to the battlefield. Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and the battle waged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rājputs in both armies fought fiercely in emulation of each other.[1]

1. The historian Badāunī had enthusiatically joined this campaign, because, as he put it, "I have a presumption to desire to dye these black mustachios and beard in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person." He said to Āsaf Khān, the chief under whom he fought, "How are we in these circumstances, since there are Rājputs on either side, to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rājputs?" He answered, "Oh whichever side these may be killed, it will be a gain to Islām." He records with great satisfaction: "My hand prospered in the matter, and I attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels...," and that day through the generalship of Mān Singh, the meaning of this line of Mullā Shir became known :—"*A Hindū strikes, but the sword is Islām's.*"

Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army were killed, and more than 500 Rājputs of the enemy's army were sent to perdition. The enemy lost Rāmeshwar Gwāliarī and his son, and the son of Jai Mal. On that day Rāṇā Kīkā fought obstinately till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear; he then turned to save his life, and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rājputs, and killed numbers of them. Kunwar Mān Singh wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldeo, and entered Kokanda. He took up his abode in the house of Rāṇā Kīkā, and again returned thanks to the Almighty. Rāṇā Kīkā fled into the hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kunwar Mān Singh and his *amīrs* with robes and horses.'[1]

"On the 7th of *Sawun*, S. 1632 (July, 1576 A. D.), a day ever memorable in her annals, the best blood of Mewār irrigated the pass of Haldīghāt." Pratāp retired to the remote fastness of Chaund, and his strong fortresses fell one by one into the enemy's hands. "But later he recovered all Mewār, excepting Chitor, Ajmir, and Mandalgarh. During the latter years of his life he was left in peace, owing to the inability of Akbar to continue an active campaign in Rājputāna, while necessity compelled him to reside for thirteen years in the Punjāb. In 1597 Pratāp died, worn out in body and mind. His chiefs pledged themselves to see that his son Amar Singh should not forget his duty."[2]

"The last moments of Pratāp," writes Tod, "were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthagenian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence. . . . . *Thus closed the life of a Rājput whose memory is even now idolized by every Sisodia, and will continue to be so, till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May*

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 398-99.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 153.

that day never arrive! yet if such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain." He also adds, "There is not a pass in the alpine Arāvalli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratāp,—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Haldīghāt is the Thermopylæ of Mewār; the field of Deweir her Marathon."[1]

The end of the struggle with the Rājputs is thus briefly described by Dr. Ishwari Prasad: "Rāṇā Pratāp was succeeded by his son Amar Singh in 1597. He reorganised the institutions of the state, made a fresh assessment of the lands, and regulated the conditions of military service. The Mughals took the offensive again, and in 1599 Akbar sent Prince Salīm and Rājā Mān Singh to invade Mewār. The Prince frittered away his time in the pursuit of pleasure at Ajmer, but the valiant Rājā aided by other officers did a great deal. Amar led the attack, but he was defeated, and his country was devastated by the imperialists. The campaign came to an end abruptly, when Rājā Mān Singh was called away by the Emperor in order to quell the revolt of Usmān Khān in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion of Mewār, but his illness prevented him from putting his plan into execution."[2]

(1) The Crisis of 1581:

"The year 1581," observes Smith, "may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into account."[3] When the year began he was undisputed master of all the fortresses in northern India, and had extended his dominion east and west from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and southwards as far as the Tāptī river. But he was faced with rebellions on all sides, which had arisen from complex causes. In addition to the unquenchable discontent among the Afghāns whose power he had supplanted, Akbar's religious and other

1. Tod, op. cit., i, pp. 345-63.
2. *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 380.
3. Smith, op. cit., p. 190.

reforms, which we shall notice later, had created a great ferment among the more conservative sections of his subjects. At the same time, Akbar's restless brother, Muhammad Hakīm, was ever watchful for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters. At this time rebellions arose, almost simultaneously, in Bengal, Bihār, Gujarāt, and in the north-west. We shall notice these one by one.

Bengal and Bihār.

We have noted already that, after the death of Munīm Khān, Khān-jahān was appointed governor of Bengal. He too died in December 1578, and was succeeded by Muzaffar Khān Turbatī, in March 1579. Nizāmu-d dīn records, 'Muzaffar Khān, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many *amīrs* of their *jāgīrs,* he demanded the *dāgh* (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

'Bābā Khān Kakshāl, although he was conciliatory, and begged that his *jāgīr* might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the *dāgh*, and received no attention. The *pargaṇa* of Jalesar, which was the *jāgīr* of Khaldi Khān, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as *tankhwah* to the *jāgīr* of Shāh Jamālu-d dīn Husain. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khaldi Khān, and to recover this Muzaffar Khān put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

'At this time a *farmān* arrived from the Imperial Court, directing Muzaffar Khān to apprehend and put to death a servant of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, named Roshan Bég, who had left Kābul and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Court. This Roshan Bég was among the Kakshāls, and Muzaffar Khān issued an order for his execution. He also spake some harsh words about Bābā Khān Kakshāl. The soldiers who were present, and especially Bābā Khān and the Kakshāls, trembled together and resolved upon mutiny. They shaved their heads, put on their high caps, and broke out into revolt. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhnauti. There they collected men, and having found property of Muzaffar Khān in

several places, they took it or destroyed it. Muzaffar Khān collected boats, and sent Hakīm Abu-l Fath and Patar Dās (the former a drunkard, and the latter a Hindū clerk), with an army against them on the banks of the river.

'When the disaffection of the Kakshāls was reported to the Emperor, he sent a *farmān* to Muzaffar Khān, in which he said that the Kakshāls had long been servants of the throne, and it was not right to hurt them; and they were therefore to be conciliated and encouraged with hopes of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *jāgīrs* was to be settled. The *farmān* arrived at the time when Muzaffar Khān was in face of the insurgents.

'Upon the arrival of the *farmān*, Bābā Khān and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Muzaffar Khān, asking him to send Rizwi Khān and Patar Dās to arrange terms with them.....But, when they arrived, Bābā Khān put them in confinement, and so stirred the fire of warfare.

'Coincident with this, it so happened that Mullā Tayib Purshottam *Bakshī*, and the revenue officials of Bihār, also entered upon harsh dealings. They took away the *jāgīrs* of Muhammad Māsum Kābulī, Arab Bahādur, and all the *amīrs*, and so laid the foundation of an evil system. Māsum Kābulī and the others resolved to rebel, and kill Mullā Tayib and Rāi Purshottam. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Purshottam rallied some loyal subjects, and crossed the river Jausā with the intention of attacking the rebels. But the rebel Arab Bahādur anticipated him, took him unawares, and killed him.

'Upon the intelligence of Māsum's rebellion reaching Bābā Khān, a correspondence was opened between them, and when the Kakshāls confronted Muzaffar Khān, Māsum marched to assist them, and arrived at Garhi....and the revolt gathered strength. The Kakshāls then crossed the river, and advanced against Muzaffar Khān ....Muzaffar Khān then took shelter in the fort of Tanda, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tanda. They took Hakīm Abul Fath, Khwājā Shamsu-d dīn and others prisoners, and began to pillage......The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tanda, brought Muzaffar Khān out of his house upon a solemn assurance of safety and put him to death. They took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihār fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. The Emperor some time before this had taken Mīrzā Sharāfu-d dīn Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Muzaffar Khān (to be kept in

custody). The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the revolt increased.

'Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Rājā Todar Mal...and other *amīrs* to repress it. *Farmāns* were sent to Muhammad Māsum Farankhudi, governor of Jaunpūr, and...the *jāgīrdārs* of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Todar Mal, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

'But Muhammad Māsum was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his arm had turned his brain, and he began to show many little actions savouring of disaffection, and to utter expressions indicative of disloyalty. Rājā Todar Mal, like a prudent and experienced man, temporised with him, and did all he could to reassure and conciliate him.

'When the Imperial army reached Mongīr, the Khakshāls, and Mīrzā Sharāfu-d dīn Husain with 30,000 horse, and 500 elephants, and with war-boats and artillery, in battle array, advanced to meet the Imperial army. Rājā Todar Mal had no confidence in the cohesion of the adventures composing the enemy's army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mongīr, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept that position. Every day combats occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor, he sent a large sum of money for the expenditure of the army.......For four months the royal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length some loyal *zamīndārs* of the vicinity cut off the supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Bābā Khān Kakshāl fell sick and died......Māsum, not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bihār. Arab Bahādur made rapid march to Patnā, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure, but he was soon put to flight....Todar Mal and the other *amīrs* marched to Bihār,....and the Emperor's good fortune aided them, and Māsum ran away to Bengal in sorry flight. Now Garhi fell into the hands of the royal troops.' After this, though fighting continued for a considerable length of time in the eastern provinces, the back of the rebellion was broken, and Bengal and Bihār were restored to Imperial allegiance.

Akbar appointed his foster-brother, Mīrzā Azīz Kokah, governor of Bengal, under the title of *Khān-i āzam*, and entrusted him with the task of further pacifying the eastern provinces. In order to conciliate the rebels, Shāh Mansūr, the Diwān or Finance Minister, who had been responsible for dra-

stic measures (like cutting down the allowances of soldiers by 50 and 20 per cent.) was temporarily removed from office. "Mullā Muhammad Yazdī, the Kāzī of Jaunpūr, who had dared to give the ruling, that rebellion (against an innovating ruler) was lawful, was sent for, along with his colleague, the Kāzī of Bengal. Their boat 'foundered' in the river, and sundry other Mullās suspected of disaffection were 'sent to the closet of annihilation', by one way or another (Badāunī, ii, p. 285.) .... Akbar exhibited his usual politic clemency in favour of several of the prominent rebel leaders, who sometimes abused his leniency and renewed their disloyal conduct."[1]

2. Mīrzā Hakīm's Rebellion.

Akbar did not personally undertake the subjugation of the eastern rebels, because there was a more serious danger threatening from the north-west. His brother, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, was once more preparing for an invasion in collusion with the Bengal insurgents. "A successful invasion from Kābul," as Smith points out, "resulting in the occupation of Delhī and Āgrā, with its enormous store of treasure, would have meant the destruction of the empire which Akbar had built up with so much labour and skill. But if that invasion should fail, the rising in the east might be safely regarded as a mere provincial trouble to be adjusted sooner or later by the imperial officers. Events proved the soundness of Akbar's judgment. The invasion from the north-west was repelled, and the eastern insurrections were suppressed in due course."[2]

Nizāmu-d dīn's account of this north-western campaign is as follows :—

'In the beginning of this year (989 H. or 1581 A.D.) intelligence arrived that Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, allured by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by Māsum Kābulī and Māsum Farankhudi, and urged on by his maternal uncle Farīdun, had set out from Kābul with the object of conquering Hindūstān. He sent his servant Shadman over the Indus (in advance), but Kunwar Mān Singh, son of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, attacked him and killed him.

1. Ibid., pp. 187-88.
2. Ibid., pp. 186-87.

On hearing of this, the Mīrzā crossed the river, and encamped in the *pargana* of Saiyidpūr. The Emperor assembled his forces, and having advanced to all the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Punjab.

'When Kunwar Mān Singh defeated Shadman, he obtained from Shadman's portfolio three letters from Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, one to Hakīmu-l Mulk, one to Khwājā Shāh Mansūr (Akbar's trusted *Diwān*) and one to Muhammad Kāsim Khān *Mīr-bahr*; all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kunwar Mān Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact concealed.

'After the Emperor marched from Delhī, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm advanced to Lāhore, and encamped in the garden of Mahdī Kāsim Khān. Kunwar Mān Singh, Said Khān, and Rājā Bhagwān Dās had gone into the fortress. On the Emperor's reaching Pānīpat, Malik Sani Kābul, *diwān* of Mīrzā Hakīm, deserted the Mirzā and came to the Imperial camp. He alighted at the tent of Khwājā Shāh Mansūr.... The Emperor was already suspicious of Mansūr, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mansūr, and showed him the Mīrzā's letter. Mansūr asseverated (his innocence), but it was of no use.

'The Emperor proceeded to Shāhbād, and there he came into possession of other incriminating letters...... On hearing and considering these letters, it appeared to His Majesty that Sharāf Bég had written one of them to Khwājā Mansūr, and that the other was certainly connected with the coming of Mīrzā Hakīm's *diwān* Malik Sani, to Khwājā Mansūr. Many of the *amīrs* and officers of the State were on bad terms with the Khwājā, and these exerted their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged next morning.

'Three days afterwards intelligence came in that Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, having been informed of the Emperor's march towards the Punjāb, had passed the river of Lāhore, and gone to Kābul. The Emperor advanced from Sirhind to Kalānor, and from thence to New Rohtās. There he received good news, and hunting as he went along, he reached the Indus.... He ordered a fort to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is called Sindsāgar, and he called it Attak Banāras. Boats were scarce; so he ordered the *amīrs* to produce some. He assigned their respective posts to the *amīrs*. Kunwar Mān Singh....and others were sent over the river towards Peshāwar. When they took possession of that city, the Emperor

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sent Prince Murād along with others to effect the conquest of Kābul.

'At this time envoys from Mīrzā Hakīm came to beg pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent Hājī Habību-lla along with them to Kābul, promising him forgiveness, on condition that he repented of the past, would bind himself by oath (for the future), and would send his sister to the Imperial Court....But when Prince Murād came to within seven *kos* of Kābul, Mīrzā Hakīm issued forth and attacked him; but he was defeated and put to flight. The victorious Prince then entered Kābul......On Friday, 10th *Rajab* (9th August, 1581), the Emperor himself entered his grandfather's capital, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens.... The Mīrzā (Muhammad Hakīm) having made a promise and a vow of fidelity, and executed an engagement....His Majesty then turned towards Hindūstan, after conferring Kābul upon Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm.[1]......He arrived at Lāhore on the last day of *Ramzān*.

'He again entrusted the government of the Punjāb to Said Khān, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, and Kunwar Mān Singh, and went on his way hunting to Fathpūr....On the 25th *Shawwal* he arrived at Delhi (1st December, 1581).

'When the Emperor had been engaged in the Kābul campaign, Bahādur Alī, son of Saiyid Badakshī, entered the country of Tirhut, and gave himself the title of Bahādur Shāh (and according to Badāunī, caused the *khutbā* to be read and coins to be struck in his name); but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khān-i āzam. Māsum Khān Farankhudi (who had fled to the Siwāliks) being in distress, begged pardon for his offences, through Khān-i āzam, and in consequence of the Khān's intercession he was pardoned.'

"The success of the Kābul expedition," observes Smith, "gave him (Akbar) an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career."[2]

1. Smith writes, "The Muhammadan historians represent Akbar as having restored the government of the Kābul province to his brother directly. But the Mīrzā had never come in to make personal submission to Akbar, and there can be no doubt that Father Monserrate is correct in stating that the Emperor made over Kābul to his sister,...when she came to see him...She seems to have tacitly allowed the Mīrzā to resume the government." (*Akbar*, p. 200.)

2. Ibid., p. 202.

Nizāmu-d dīn's account of the rebellion in Gujarāt is too long to be reproduced here. Besides, little interest attaches to the narrative, except in the fact that the author himself took part in the campaign of suppression. The following brief account of it by Smith sets out the salient features in a nut-shell :—

3. The Gujarāt Rebellion.

During the progress of the wars in Bengal and the expedition to Kābul, the province of Gujarāt was much disturbed by the revolt of Muzaffar Shāh, ex-King of that country. He had escaped from surveillance in 1578, and taken refuge at Junāgarh in Kāthiāwār until 1583, when he collected and started a formidable rebellion, which lasted for about eight years. When Itimed Khān was appointed viceroy in 1583 he was lucky enough to be assisted by Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, the historian, in the capacity of *bakshī*, who proved himself to be a most energetic and efficient officer. In September 1583, Muzaffar took Ahmadābād, and assumed the title and state of King. In November, he treacherously killed Kutbu-d dīn, the distinguished imperial officer who had surrendered to him, and he occupied Bharoch. The alarming news from the west obliged Akbar to return from Allahābād to the capital in January 1585. He had meantime appointed Mīrzā Khān (Abdurrahīm, Bairam Khān's son), better known by his later title of *Khān-khānān*, to the government of Gujarāt. The pretender was severely defeated by much inferior imperial forces at the battle of Sarkhej near Ahmadābād in January 1584, and again at Nādot or Nāndod in Rājpipla. After many vicissitudes he was driven into Cutch (Kacch), where he received support from certain local chiefs. Nizāmu-d dīn inflicted a terrible punishment on their territory by destroying nearly 300 villages[1] and ravaging two *parganas*. He was then recalled.

1. "We burnt and destroyed the towns of Kari and Kataria, two places well known in Cutch. We realised an enormous booty, and after plundering and destroying nearly 300 villages in the course of three days, we recrossed the Rann......After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the *parganas* of Malia and Morbi which belonged

Muzaffar continued to give trouble in the wild regions of Kāthiāwār and Cutch until 1591-92, when he was captured. He committed suicide by cutting his throat, or at any rate was reported to have done so. Abdurrahīm got his title of *Khān-khānān* for his defeat of Muzaffar.[1]

(m) Settlement of the Frontiers :

Akbar, having successfully passed through the crisis above described, undertook campaigns which were more or less of an aggressive character, intended mostly to round off his territories by a settlement of its frontiers. The annexation of Kābul, Kāshmīr, Kandahār, Sindh, and Orissa, and the subjugation of the Balochī and Yusufzaī, as well as the campaigns against the Uzbeks in Badakhshān, are all illustrative of this. Having once secured these, he led his last aggressive campaigns for the conquest of the southern kingdoms of the Deccan.

1. Annexation of Kābul.

The death of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm gave the occasion for the incorporation of Kābul with Akbar's dominions. 'The Mīrzā,' says Nizāmu-d dīn, 'was the Emperor's own brother, but the Emperor had shown him kindness and affection greater than even that of a brother. For the Mīrzā had often been presumptuous and aggressive, and the Emperor had not only pardoned him and showed him favour, but had sent *amīrs* and armies to maintain him in Kābul. He was greatly addicted to wine, and excessive drinking was the cause of his illness and death. He died on the 12th *Shaban,* 993 (July, 1585). When the news of his death reached the Emperor, he was much grieved; and after the period of mourning was over, his purpose was to confirm the country of Kābul to the sons of Mīrzā. But

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to Khangar....After returning to Ahmedābād, I turned my thoughts to the repression of the Grassias. In the course of two months I fitted out an army, and then marched towards Othaniya and Ahmadnagar. I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolis and Grassias, and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check....In the year 996 the Emperor gave Gujarāt to Āzam Khān, and recalled me to Court. By rapid stages I reached the Imperial Court at Lāhore in fourteen days, and was most graciously received.' (*Nizāmu-d dīn,* E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 445-7.)

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 208.

the nobles urged that the Mīrzā's sons were of tender age, and incapable of ruling; and that the Uzbek army which had already taken Badakhshān was on the look out for Kābul also. These considerations induced the Emperor to march to the Punjāb, and he began his march on the 10th of *Ramzān*......

'The Emperor travelled by successive stages without making any halts to Delhī. There he visited the tomb of his father and the shrines of the saints and dispensed his charity upon the poor, and celebrated the *Id*. On the 19th *Shawwal* he reached the bank of the Sutlej and encamped. There he was informed that Kunwar Mān Singh had sent a body of men across the Indus to Peshāwar, and that Shāh Bég, the officer of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, had fled to Kābul. ....On the 28th he (Akbar) reached and crossed the Beyāh. Here he received a despatch from Mān Singh, reporting that the people of Kābul had willingly submitted to the Imperial rule....Moreover, Farīdun Khān, the uncle of the late Mīrzā, when Kunwar Mān Singh entered Kābul in hot haste, finding that he was helpless, brought the young princes to wait upon the Kunwar. They were received with great kindness and assurances of protection. Mān Singh left his own sons in Kābul in the charge of Shamsu-d dīn Khāfī, and set off with the young princes and the nobles of Kābul to meet the emperor....They were received with princely generosity (at Rāwalpindī). Each of the chief attendants received five or six thousand rupees as a gift. Suitable allowances and *jāgīrs* were also granted....His Majesty placed Kunwar Mān Singh in command, and gave him Kābul in *jāgīr*.

Reduction of the Afghāns, etc.

'When the Emperor reached Atak, he sent Bhagwān Dās, Shāh Kulī Mahram, and other well-known *amīrs*, with about 5,000 horse, to effect the conquest of Kāshmīr. On the same day Ismāil Kulī Khān and Rāi Singh were sent against the Balūchīs. Next day Zain Khān Koka was sent with a force against the Afghāns of Swāt and Bājaur, to reduce that turbulent people to order. The Emperor encamped at Atak on the 15th *Muharram*, 994.

'In former times a Hindūstānī soldier had come among the Afghāns, and set up an heretical sect. He induced many foolish people to become his disciples, and he gave himself the title of *Pīr Roshanāī*. He was dead, but his son Jalāla, a youth of about fourteen, came in the year 989 H., to wait upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kābul. He was kindly received; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight, and go off to the Afghāns. There he raised disturbances; and gathering a good number of men under him, he shut up the roads between

Hindūstān and Kābul. In order to repress this base sect of *Roshanāīs*, His Majesty placed Kunwar Mān Singh in command and gave him Kābul in *jāgīr*.

'When intelligence arrived of Zain Khān having entered the country of Swāt, and of his having encountered this sect of Afghāns, who were as numerous as ants and locusts, on the 2nd *Safar*, 994 H. Sayid Khān Gakhar, Rājā Bīrbal and others were sent with forces to support him. A few days later Hakīm Abu-l Fath was sent after them with additional forces. After these reinforcements had joined Zain Khān began to plunder and ravage the Afghāns, and great spoil fell into his hands. When they reached the pass of Karagar, a person observed to Rājā Bīrbal that the Afghāns meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four *kos*, and that if they got through the pass they would be safe from the attack designed. Rājā Bīrbal, without making any communication to Zain Khān, pushed on to get through the pass, and all his army followed. At close of day, when the sun was about to set, they reached a defile, the heights of which on every side were covered with Afghāns. Arrows and stones were showered upon them in the narrow pass, and in the darkness men lost their path, and perished in the recesses of the mountain. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly 8,000 men were killed, and Rājā Bīrbal, who fled for his life was slain.... On the 5th *Rabī'u-l awwal*, Zain Khān Koka and Hakīm Abu-l Fath were defeated and reached the fort of Atak with difficulty.

'This defeat greatly troubled the Emperor.[1] He dismissed these commanders, and sent Rājā Todar Mal with a large army to repair the disaster. The Rājā entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghāns to great straits. Rājā Mān Singh, who had marched against these sectaries, fought a hard battle with them in the Khaiber Pass, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The Rājā obtained a great victory (1586).

Conquest of Kāshmīr.

'When Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Shāh Kulī Khān Mahram, and others who had been sent against Kāshmīr, reached the pass of Bhuliyas, on the confines of Kāshmīr, Yūsuf Khān, the ruler of that country, came up and blockaded the pass. The Imperial forces

1. Akbar in particular grieved very much over the death of his jovial companion, Rājā Bīrbal, and is said to have been so much moved that he gave up food and drink for two days. Badāunī says: 'He never experienced such grief at the death of any *amīr* as he did at that of Bīrbal.'

remained for some days inactive, snow and rain came on, and supplies of corn were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Zain arrived, and the army was in great difficulty. The *amīrs* resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by saffron, shawls, and by the mint, to the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors. (They gave the country entirely over to Yūsuf —Badāunī, ii. p. 352.) Yūsuf was delighted with the terms, and came to visit the *amīrs*, and they brought him along with them to visit the Emperor. When they came to Court, the Emperor disapproved of the peace, and the *amīrs* were forbidden his presence, but after some days they were allowed to make their obeisances....'

Then 'Muhammad Kāsim Khān *Mīr-bahr*....was sent with a large force to effect the conquest of Kāshmīr. After seven marches they entered the defiles of the mountains. When they reached the pass of Kartal, Yākub, the son of Yūsuf Khān, (who 'had been thrown into prison, and was treated as dead by his son.—Badāunī, ii, p. 353) considering himself ruler of Kāshmīr, came with a considerable force to oppose them. But fortune fought for the Imperial army, and the stone of dissension was cast among the Kāshmīrīs. The chiefs of Kāshmīr were distressed with the rule of Yākub, and several deserted from him and joined Kāsim Khān. Another party raised the standard of rebellion in Srīnagar, which is the capital of the country. Yākub deeming it of primary importance to crush the internal rebellion, returned to Kāshmīr. The Imperial army then entered Kāshmīr without opposition, and Yākub, unable to make any resistance, fled to the mountains. Srīnagar was occupied, and revenue collectors were appointed to all the *parganas*.

'The Emperor, being informed of the contest, sent letters of thanks to Kāsim Khān and the other *amīrs*, and bestowed honours and promotions upon all of them. Yākub raised a force and fought with Kāsim, but was defeated. Another time he tried a night surprise, but was unsuccessful. The royal forces pursued him into hills full of trees and defiles beating him and driving him before them. He was very nearly captured. At last in wretched plight and in humble mood, he waited upon Kāsim Khān, and enrolled himself among the subjects of the Imperial throne.' Badāunī adds that he was eventually sent into Bihār to Rājā Mān Singh, to join his father; and both Yūsuf and Yākub there died in confinement, worn out with troubles and chagrin.[1]

1. Badāunī, ii, p. 353; Abu-l Fazl, on the other hand says, 'Yūsuf was released from prison, and received a *jāgīr*, so that he might learn better manners, and appreciate the kind treatment he had received.' (*Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 549.)

The Emperor after this paid a visit to Kāshmīr and Kābul and attended to the transfer of several of the important officers. 'The government of Kābul was given to Zain Khān Kokā, and Rājā Mān Singh was recalled to Court and the government of Bihār and Bengal was conferred upon him. About the same time the government of Kāshmīr was given to Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Rizwī, and Kāsim Khān *Mīr-bahr* was recalled. Sadik Khān was sent to Swāt and Bājaur against the Yūsufazāīs, and the *jāgīrs* of Mān Singh at Siālkot and elsewhere were granted to him. Ismāil Kulī Khān was recalled from Swāt and Bājaur, and sent to Gujarāt, to replace Kalij Khān, who was summoned to Court....Kalij Khān arrived from Gujarāt, and was appointed to assist Rājā Todar Mal in Revenue and Civil administration.'

When the Emperor was at Kābul, 'intelligence reached him that Rājā Todar Mal *wakīlu-s saltanat*, and *mushrif-i diwān* and Rājā Bhagwān Dās *amīru-l umara*, had died at Lāhore. On the 8th *Muharram*, 998, the Emperor started on his return to Hindūstān, leaving the government of Kābul in the hands of Muhammad Kāsim *Mīr-bahr*....He gave the government of Gujarāt to Mīrzā Azīz Muhammad Kokaltāsh *Āzam Khān*, who held the government of Mālwā. He recalled me, Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, the author of this work, to Court. To Khān-khānān he gave Jaunpūr instead of the *jāgīr* which he had held in Gujarāt.

Sindh and the Balochīs.

'The city of Lāhore had been for some years the royal residence, and many chiefs of that quarter had come to wait upon the Emperor. But Jānī Beg, of Thatta, although he had sent letters and tribute, had never come in person to enroll himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khān-khānān was now appointed governor of Multān and Bhakkar, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Sindh and the Balochīs. In the month of *Rabī'u-s sani* (1590) he was sent on his enterprise, along with a number of nobles whose names are too numerous to mention. He had a hundred elephants and a train of artillery......

'Khān-khānān had besieged Jānī Bég for two months. Every day there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Sindhīs had got possession of the roads, and prevented the passage of provisions. Grain had consequently become very scarce and bread exceedingly dear. Khān-khānān had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the *pargaṇa* of Jun, near Thatta. But he sent a portion of his force to invest Sīhwān. Jānī Bég, assuming the Sīhwān force to be weak in numbers, marched against it... But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went into battle. The Rājā Todar

Mal's son, Dharu, fought most bravely, and was killed. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Jānī Bég flew towards the banks of the river, and again entrenched himself. Khān-khānān upon his side, and the Sīhwān force upon the other, bore down upon him and besieged him. There was fighting every day. At length Jānī Bég's men were reduced to eat their horses and camels, and many were killed every day by the fire of the guns and muskets. Jānī Bég was compelled to make an offer of capitulation, and promise to go and wait upon the Emperor. He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded. It being the rainy season, Khān-khānān remained in the village of Sann, in the vicinity of Sīhwān, for that time. The fort of Sīhwān was surrendered, and Jānī Bég gave his daughter in marriage to Mīrzā Iraj, son of Khān-khānān. He also surrendered twenty *ghrabs*, (three-masted ships).

'The intelligence of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, as he deemed it a good augury of his success in Kāshmīr. He then continued his journey to Kāshmīr,. . . .taking me with him in attendance. . . . . .It is a curious fact that when the Emperor started on his return from Kāshmīr, he observed : "It is forty years since I saw snow, and there are many men with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never seen it. If a snow-storm should come upon us, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st *Rabi'u-l awwal* he reached the fort of Rohtās, and there rested. On the 13th he started for Lāhore, and on the 6th *Rabi'u-s sani* he arrived there (1592).

Annexation of Orissa.

'Intelligence here reached him that Rājā Mān Singh had fought a great battle with the sons of Kutlu Afghān, who, since his death, had held the country of Orissa, and, having defeated them, he had annexed that extensive country, which lies beyond Bengal, to the Imperial dominions.' The new province was attached to the *Sūbā* of Bengal, and continued to be part of the Empire until 1751, when the Marāthās conquered it from Alivardi Khān.

Balochistān and Kandahār.

'The year 1595 saw the completion of the conquests and annexations in the north-west effected by the arms of Akbar's officers or through diplomacy based on the terror of his name. In February of that year Mīr Māsum, the historian, who wielded the sword and the pen with equal facility, attacked the fort of Sīwī to the south-east of Quetta which was held by the Parni Afghāns. The tribesmen who mustered in force to defend their stronghold, were defeated in battle, and after consideration surrendered the place, with the result

that all Balochistān, as far as the frontiers of the Kandahār province, and including Makrān, the region near the coast, passed under the imperial sceptre.

'A little later, in April, Kandahār itself came into Akbar's possession without bloodshed......The Persian governor, Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā, being involved in quarrels with relatives and in danger from the Uzbegs asked Akbar to depute an officer to take over charge. The Emperor, of course, complied gladly, and sent Shāh Bég, who had been in the service of his brother at Kābul. The city, thus peacefully acquired, remained under the Indian government until 1622, when Jahāngīr lost it. Shāhjahān regained it and held it from 1638 to 1649, when it was finally separated from the empire.'[1]

7. Badakhshān and the Uzbegs.

Akbar was ambitious to reconquer his ancestral dominions in Trans-Oxiana. When he marched to Kābul, he was 'intent upon effecting the conquest of Badakhshān.' Later, 'Mīrzā Suleimān, with the assistance of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, had returned to Badakhshān, and obtained a victory over the army of Abdullā Khān Uzbeg......Abdullā Khān of Badakhshān, when he was informed of Mīrzā Suleimān's success, gathered a strong force, which he sent to oppose him. Mīrzā Suleimān unable to cope with this army, retreated to Kābul, all Badakhshān came into the power of the Uzbegs.' Akbar then tried to conciliate Abdullā Khān with diplomacy. Nearly a *lac* and a half of rupees, equal to 37,000 *tumans* of Irāk, goods of Hindūstān, and curiosities were entrusted to Muhammad Alī *Khazānchī* for presentation to Abdullā Khān.' But all this was of little avail. On the contrary, Akbar was in constant anxiety about the activities of the rebel Uzbeg leaders, until the death, in 1598, of Abdullā Khān, when, relieved of all danger from that direction, he turned definitely towards the south.

(n) Conquest of the Deccan :

In August 1591, Akbar had sent diplomatic missions to the various kingdoms of the Deccan : 'Faizī, the brother of the learned Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, to Asīr and Burhānpūr ; Khwājā Amīnu-d dīn to Ahmadnagar ; Mīr Muhammad Amīn Mashūdī to Bījāpūr ; and Mīrzā Masūd to Golkonda.' But in 1593, 'the ambassadors, whom the King had despatched to the Deccan, returned, communicating that all the kings had refused

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 258.

to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbar, who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection.'[1] Only Rājā Alī Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh, who was 'a man of great talent, just, wise, prudent, and brave,' had showed indications of being loyal. "The chief importance of Rājā Alī Khān's territory lay in the fact that it included the mighty fortress of Asīrgarh, commanding the main road to Deccan, and justly regarded as one of the strongest and best equipped fortresses in Europe or Asia."[2] There was no unity among the Sultāns of the Deccan, and they continued to fight among themselves, in spite of the common danger that now threatened their independence. Burhānu-l Mulk of Ahmadnagar died in 1594, and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm who was killed in battle by the Bijāpūrīs in 1595. 'The Ahmadnagar nobles, refusing to acknowledge the new king, rebelled, and besieged Ahmadnagar. In this dilemma, finding himself unable to cope with his enemies, the party supporting the young prince entreated the help of the Mughals in Gujarāt.

'Prince Murād, having previously received orders from his father, Akbar, to march into the Deccan, gladly embraced the proposal, and moved with great expedition to the south.' Abdurrahman, Khān-khānān, also marched to the south at the same time.

1. Siege of Ahmadnagar.

'Miān Manjū (the minister) having, by this time, suppressed the rebellion, repented of his having called in the Mughals, and had already laid in a store of provisions in Ahmadnagar to defend it. He left Chānd Bībī, the daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh, to assume command of the fort, and himself marched with the remainder of the army, and a large train of artillery, towards the Bījāpūr frontier. The Prince Murād and Khān-khānān, instead of coming as allies now proceeded to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. In November 1595, the besiegers opened their trenches, and carried on approaches by raising mounds, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Chānd Bībī, defended the place with masculine resolution, and wrote letters to Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr, and Kutub Shāh of Golkonda, for

1. *Ferishta*, Briggs, II, pp. 265, 269.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 247.

aid. At the end of three months,......Chānd Bībī, appeared with a veil on her head. She got guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen, and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet, before daylight, with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcases. Meanwhile, a report prevailed that the general of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh was on his march, in conjunction with Kutb Shāhī troops, at the head of an army of 70,000 horse, to raise the siege. At the same time, a scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Mughal camp, the Prince and Khān-khānān thought it advisable to enter into negotiations with the besieged.

'It was stipulated by Chānd Bībī, that Akbar should retain Berār, while Ahmadnagar and its original dependencies should remain entirely in the hands of Bahādur Shāh, the grandson of Burhān Nizām Shāh II. These terms being ratified, the Prince Murād and Khān-khānān marched towards Berār, where they built the town of Shāhpūr, near Bālāpūr, and formed cantonments in that place (1596).

2. Battle of Ṣūpā.

'After the departure of the Mughals, Chānd Bībī resigned her authority,......and the nobles, contrary to her advice, and in violation of the late treaty, marched with 50,000 horse to the north, in order to expel the Mughals from Berār; while Khān-khānān leaving the Prince in Shāhpūr, moved with 20,000 horse accompanied by Rājā Alī Khān Fārukhī, to oppose them on the banks of the Godāvarī. On reaching the village of Sūpā, Khān-khānān halted for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, and having forded the river, then only knee-deep, drew up his army on the south bank....The Nizām Shāhī troops were on the right, the Kutb Shāhī on the left, and the Ādil Shāhīs in the centre.

'On the side of the Mughals, Khān-khānān took post in the centre. Rājā Alī Khān of Khāndesh and Rājā Rām Chunder, at the head of a body of volunteers, began to attack. The onset of the Mughals was begun with much intrepidity; they broke the advance troops of the Deccanis......However, they met with a check from a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms, and rockets, which did much execution among the Rājputs and the Khāndesh troops; Rājā Alī Khān and Rājā Rām Chunder were both killed, and above three thousand of their men fell; the Mughal centre and left also gave way at the same time, and left the enemy master of the field in that quarter......But, Sohil Khān (the enemy's commander), after performing prodigies of valour, worn out by fatigue and loss

of blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependants, however, bore him off the ground ; and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khān-khānān master of the field ; but being in no condition to pursue the fugitives, the Mughals returned to Shāhpūr.'

3. Emperor takes the field in Person.

'The private animosity that had long subsisted between the Prince Murād and the Khān-khānān, at this time rose to a dangerous height. The King, therefore, conceiving it imprudent to leave them any longer together, despatched Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, in the year 1006 H. (1597). Khān-khānān was recalled to the presence......At this time Prince Murād Mīrzā, falling dangerously ill (of excessive drinking), died in 1007 H.....The King's grief at the death of his son increased his desire of conquering the Deccan, as a means of diverting his mind. In the meantime, the nobles of the Nizām Shāhī dominions gained some slight advantages over the Mughals ....Khān-khānān was now despatched (again) to the Deccan, accompanied by Prince Dāniyāl, with orders to occupy the whole of the Nizām Shāhī territory. Akbar also, in the year 1008, (1599), marched in person to the south, leaving his dominions in the north under the charge of the Prince Royal, Muhammad Salīm Mīrzā.

'Meanwhile, Dāniyāl Mīrzā and the Khān-khānān entered the Deccan. Miran Bahādur Khān, son of Rājā Alī Khān, unlike his father, assumed a hostile position in Asīrgarh after the Mughal army had gone to the south. The Prince deemed it prudent, therefore, to halt on the banks of the Godāvarī, near Paithan, in order to conciliate him. But Akbar having reached Māndū directed the Mīrzā to proceed to Ahmadnagar, as he himself intended to besiege Asīrgarh. Dāniyāl and Khān-khānān accordingly marched with about 30,000 horse towards Ahmadnagar. The Deccanī officers flying before them, left the Mughals at liberty to advance without molestation.' The city of Ahmadnagar easily fell into the hands of the Mughals, owing to its internal dissensions. Chānd Bībī the only capable leader, was either murdered or constrained to take poison. The town surrendered in August 1600, after 1500 of the garrison had been put to the sword. The young prince and his family were committed to life-long imprisonment in the fort of Gwālior.

4. Capture of Asīrgarh.

'Akbar failed in inducing Miran Bahādur Khān to submit to his authority. He accordingly proceeded to Burhānpūr, and directed one of his generals to besiege Asīrgarh which lay only six *kos* from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air, on account of the number of troops cooped up in the fort, became

very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swept off several of the garrison; and although Miran Bahādur Khān had still sufficient men for the defence of Asīr, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores and provisions, he began to despair. At this time also Ahmadnagar fell....In the beginning of the year 1009 H. (1600), Miran Bahādur Khān, losing all courage, resigned the strong fortress of Asīr into the hands of Akbar, and yielded up treasures and stores which had been accumulating therein for many ages. The wealth of Ahmadnagar was also brought to Burhānpur. Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr sent an ambassador to conciliate Akbar, and consented to give his daughter in marriage to his son, Prince Dāniyāl Mīrzā. A Mughal noble was accordingly despatched with suitable offerings to escort the bride from Bījāpūr. Asīr, Burhānpūr, Ahmadnagar, and Berār, were now consolidated into one province, the government of which was conferred upon Dāniyāl Mīrzā, under the management of Khān-kānān. The King, after these transactions, having returned in triumph to the city of Āgrā, in the year 1011 H. (1602) assumed by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan in addition to his other titles.'

(o) DEATH OF AKBAR :

The above narrative of the conquest of the Deccan is mainly taken from Ferishta. The exact nature of the capitulation of Asīrgarh is one of the subjects of keen controversy. "Asīrgarh," says Smith, "was the last of the long list of Akbar's conquests, which had been practically continuous for forty-five years."[1] The history of the remaining few years of Akbar's reign is thus briefly recorded by Ferishta :—

'In the course of the same year (1602), Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, was recalled from the Deccan; and that learned man was unfortunately attacked and cut off in the district of Nurwur, by banditti near Orcha. In the month of *Safar*, 1013 (June, 1604), Mīr Jalālu-d dīn Husain, who had been deputed to Bījāpūr, returned with the royal bride and the stipulated dowry. He delivered the young Sultānā to Dāniyāl upon the banks of the Godāvarī near Paithan,[2] where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence; after which, Mīr Jamālu-d dīn Husain proceeded to join the King at Āgrā. On the 1st of *Zehuj*, of the year 1013, the Prince Dāniyāl died, in the city of Burhānpūr, owing to excess of drinking. His death

1. Ibid., p. 287.
2. Ferishta personally accompanied the bride.



By Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay.

JAHANGIR

and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till, on the 13th of *Jumadu's-sani*, in the year 1014 H. (Oct. 13, 1605), he died, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Eternity belongeth only to that King to whom our worship is due. The words "*The death of King Akbar*" contain the numeral letters which comprise the date of his death."[1]

This account, although it refers to the assassination of Abu-l Fazl, fails to point out its connection with Prince Salīm's rebellion. The murder of his great companion, as well as the misdemeanor of Prince Salīm, must certainly have hastened Akbar's approaching end. The details concerning these closing events may be only briefly stated here :—

Prince Salīm, on the testimony of Badāunī, is accused of having poisoned his father, as early as 1591. 'In this year,' says Badāunī, 'the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and cholic...... In his unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicion of his eldest son, and accused him of giving poison.'[2] Commenting upon this, Smith observes, "It is impossible to say whether or not the suspicion was then justified ; but it is certain that in 1600 Salīm had become utterly weary of waiting for the long-deferred and ardently desired succession."[3] In 1598, when Akbar left for the southern campaign, he left Salīm in charge of the capital. In 1600, when Usmān Khān, an Afghān chief rebelled in Bengal, Salīm was asked to proceed to the eastern province, but he preferred to remain at Allahābād, appropriated the vast revenues of Bihār (amounting to no less than 30 *lacs* of rupees) and assigned *jāgīrs* to some of his supporters. It was this grave misconduct of Salīm that had made Akbar somehow finish the conquest of Asīrgarh and

1. Briggs, ii, 280. According to Smith, "He died soon after mid-night, early in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 27, new style (Oct. 17, old style), or according to the Muhammadan reckoning, on Wednesday night."—Ibid. p. 324.
2. Badāunī, ii, p. 390.
3. Smith, loc. cit., p. 301.

hasten to the north. Akbar reached Āgrā in May 1601, and heard that Salīm was coming to the court with 30,000 horse; had, in fact, reached Etāwāh, only 73 miles from the capital. Akbar thereupon ordered him to return to Allahābād, and at the same time conferred on him the government of Bengal and Orissa. Early in 1602, Salīm required that he should be permitted to return to the capital with 70,000 men, that all his grants to his officers should be confirmed, and that his adherents should not be regarded as rebels. Still, Akbar could not make up his mind to fight this strange rebel. In the meanwhile, Salīm continued in royal style at Allahābād, struck coin in his own name, and had even the impudence to send specimens of them to Akbar.

Unable to endure all this, the Emperor communicated his son's insolence to Abu-l Fazl in the Deccan. The valiant minister recommended strong action, and himself undertook to bring the Prince bound to the Court. But unfortunately, as stated above, he was intercepted by the hand of the assassin. Bīr Singh Bundela who had been hired for the purpose by Salīm. His head was sent to Allahābād, and "Salīm received it with unholy joy and treated it with shameful insult." Salīm records this crime in the following terms :—

'Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, who excelled the Sheikhzādās of Hindūstān in wisdom and learning, had adorned himself outwardly with the jewel of sincerity, and sold it to my father at a heavy price. He had been summoned from the Deccan, and since his feelings towards me were not honest, he both publicly and privately spoke against me....It became necessary to prevent him from coming to court. As Bīr Singh Deo's country was exactly on the route and he was then a rebel, I sent him a message that if he would stop the sedition-monger and kill him he would receive every kindness from me.

'By God's grace, when Sheikh Abu-l Fazl was passing through Bīr Singh Deo's country, the Rājā blocked his road, and after a little contest scattered his men and killed him. He sent his head to me in Allhābād. Although this event was a cause of anger in the mind of the late King (Akbar), in the end it enabled me to proceed, without much disturbance of mind, to kiss the threshold of my father's palace, and by degrees the resentment of the King was cleared away.'

Akbar became furious, and, distracted with grief, he declared : "If Salīm wanted to be the Emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abu-l Fazl." For three days he abstained from appearing in public audience, and sent urgent orders to apprehend Bīr Singh Deo. The murderer, though hotly pursued and wounded on one occasion, evaded capture, and lived to enjoy the favour of Jahāngīr. "The murder," says Smith, "was effectual for two years in stopping Akbar from taking strong measures to coerce his rebellious son."[1]

About April 1603, a temporary reconciliation was effected between father and son through the intercession of Salīmā Begum (Bairam Khān's widow, daughter of Humāyūn's sister Gulbadan Begum, whom Akbar had married,—the mother of Murād). Akbar went to the extent of taking off his own turban, and placing it on the head of his son, thus publicly recognising him as heir to the throne. But it was all in vain. Again, when Salīm was ordered to march against Amar Singh (son of Rāṇā Pratāp), he went off to Allahābād and resumed his old and unfilial ways. Akbar was prevented from going after him by the death of his own mother Mariyam Makānī in August 1604. In November, when Salīm came to the capital, Akbar severely reproached him for his unfilial conduct, and by way of punishment deprived him of his accustomed dose of opium for 24 hours (according to *Ma'asir-i Jahāngīr*, of both liquor and opium for ten days), but ultimately softened and pardoned him. After this, Salīm humbly accepted the government of the western provinces which had been held by his brother Dāniyāl but continued to live at Āgrā until Akbar's death in October 1605.[2]

Asad Bég records : 'During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khān-i āzam (Azīz Kokā), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted the Rājā Mān Singh,

1. Ibid., p. 307.
2. Ibid. p. 319.

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one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultān Khūsrū Emperor.[1] They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salīm), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respect at Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that the sun cannot be smeared with mud, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the pen-knife of treachery. He whom the hand of the power of Allāh upholds, though he be helpless in himself, is safe from all evil.' When these designs were frustrated by other loyal nobles, who declared, "This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chaghatāī Tatars, and shall never be;" Rājā Mān Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, and took Sultān Khūsrū with him to his own palace, and prepared boat, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. As soon as the Prince was relieved from all anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles, and Mīr Murtazā Khān at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only waited to see that illustrious one (Salīm). As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opened his eyes, and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to gird him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage; at the same moment that sovereign, whose sins are forgiven, bowed himself also and closed his life.'[2]

There are various stories as to Akbar's death being due to poisoning; but Smith writes, "On the whole, while it is perhaps most probable that Akbar died a natural death, the general belief that he was poisoned in some fashion by somebody may

1. The Khān-i āzam was Prince Khūsrū's father-in-law; and Khūsrū's mother was the daughter of Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh's adopted father.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 169-72.

have been well-founded. The materials do not warrant a definite judgment."[1]

(p) Akbar's Relations with the Europeans :

The Portuguese were the principal Europeans with whom Akbar came into contact, both for a religious and secular purpose. Although the Jesuits belonged to different nationalities, they acted in close unison with the Portuguese authorities at Goa. The English contact with Akbar was very slight.

In 1561, "the Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultans of the Deccan, and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached ; Chaul, Bombaim (Bombay) with neighbouring places ; Bassein (see Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, p. 21) ; Damān, and Diu. Their fleet controlled the mercantile and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the soil of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country."[2]

Akbar met the Portuguese for the first time, as we have noted, during his Gujarāt campaign. In 1572, while at Cambay, some Portuguese merchants came to pay their respects. The next year, according to Abu-l Fazl, 'whilst the siege of Surat was proceeding, a large party of Christians from the port of Goa arrived ; they were admitted to an audience with the Emperor, although it was probable that they had come to assist the besieged, and to get the fort into their own hands. But when they saw the strength of the Imperial force, and its power of carrying on the siege, they represented themselves to be ambassadors, and besought the honour of an interview. They offered various articles of the country as presents. Akbar treated each one of them with great condescension, and conversed with them about the affairs of Portugal, and other European matters.'[3] A treaty was also entered into

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 326.
2. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 348.
3. *Akbar-Nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 42.

with Antonio Cabral, the Portuguese envoy from Goa, one of the principal terms of which was assurance of the safety of the pilgrims to Mecca, who used to be molested by Christians.

In 1576, the year following the building of the *Ibādat-Khāna* (or the House of Worship), Akbar met two Jesuits (Anthony Vaz and Pater Diaz) in Bengal. Their reproof of Christian converts who wanted to defraud the Imperial treasury, by refusing to pay some legitimate shipping and other dues, impressed Akbar to a great extent about these strangers from Europe. Accordingly, he sent for Father Julian Pereira, the Vicar General at Sātgāon. But the worthy Father "being a man of more piety than learning" could not satisfy Akbar's curiosity about the Christian religion.

In 1577, Akbar consulted Pietro Tavares, the captain or commandant of the port of Hūglī; but, says Smith, "Naturally, he too was ill-qualified to answer correctly the various conundrums proposed to him." Nevertheless, Akbar made him a grant of land, some time between 1578-80.

In 1578, Antonio Cabral again visited Akbar at his Court; "but being a layman, he was not in a position to expound with authority the deeper matters of the faith."

These failures only whetted Akbar's curiosity more. So he sent despatches to Goa, both of a secular and religious character. He sent Hājī Abdullā to bring from Goa European curios, and to copy anything worthy of imitation. Among the things that he brought back was a musical organ 'like a great box, the size of a man, played by a European sitting inside. The wind was supplied by bellows or fans of peacock's feathers. Some Europeans, and others dressed like Europeans also accompanied the organ. But the more important purpose of the embassy was for missionaries.

In September 1579, Akbar's embassy reached Goa with the following message :—

First Jesuit Mission from Goa.

'Order of Jalāl-u dīn the Great, King by God appointed, Fathers of the Order of St. Paul, know that I am most kindly disposed towards you. I send Abdullā, my ambassador, and Dominic Pires, to ask you

in my name to send me two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for I wish to study and learn the Law and what is best and most perfect in it. The moment my ambassadors return let them not hesitate to come with them and let them bring the books of the Law. Know also that so far as I can I shall receive most kindly and honourably the priests who will come. Their arrival will give me the greatest pleasure, and when I shall know about the Law and its perfection what I wish to know, they will be at liberty to return as soon as they like, and I shall not let them go without loading them with honours and gifts. Therefore, let them not have the slightest fear to come. I take them under my protection. Fare you well.'

Although at first the Portuguese Viceroy hesitated, the Committee of Bishops decided on November 10, 1579, in favour of the despatch of the Mission. The Fathers selected for the service were Rudolf Aquaviva, Antony Monserrate, and Francis Henriquez. "Of these, Henriquez was a Persian by origin, a native of Ormuz and a convert from Islām, who was intended to help as interpreter to the Mission. Monserrate, a Spaniard from Catalonia, forty-three years of age, was a wise and observant man of studious habits, and to him we owe an admirable first-hand description of the Mission and of the Mughal Court . . . Rudolf Aquaviva, the third member and leader of the Mission, was an Italian of high social status and of outstanding sanctity."[1]

The Mission started on November 17, 1579, and reached Fathpūr Sīkrī on February 27 or 28, 1580. "This Mission," observes Sir Edward Maclagan, "came to Akbar's Court at a time of great interest in the development of his religious policy, and its doings have received notice at the hands of the contemporary Indian Historians, Bādāonī and Abul Fazl; the former writing from the orthodox Muslim standpoint and the latter from Akbar's own eclecticism. We have also first-hand information recorded by the members of the Mission themselves." Monserrate's *Relacam* (1582) contains "the best contemporary sketch of the character and power of Akbar at the time of the Mission and the *Commentarious* (1590) which forms

1. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 24.

the best general account which we possess of the Mission itself."

The object of the Mission was the "glory of the Church and the benefit of Portugal." The missionaries were ambitious of converting the inhabitants of "Mogor." But, as Maclagan says, "in view of the unsolicited invitation addressed to Goa and the known proclivities of Akbar, it was ardently hoped that this object might be achieved through the medium of the conversion of the King. All the efforts of the Mission were therefore at the first concentrated on the King himself. Royal converts were not unknown in the Indies......a near relation of Bijapur had been baptised at Goa shortly after Father Rudolf's arrival from Europe ....There was therefore nothing impossible or fantastic in the scheme of the Mission and, as the Jesuits were admittedly the Order best fitted to deal with such cases, the Mission commenced with well-founded hopes of success."[1]

Akbar received the members of the Mission very cordially. "On arrival they were offered large sums of money, and gained much consideration by their refusal to accept more than was necessary for subsistence. They were accorded quarters in the palace...They were given food from the royal table; and, when Monserrate was ill, the King proceeded to visit him and greeted him in Portuguese. In personal intercourse with the King the Fathers were treated with special courtesy. 'He never allowed them,' says Monserrate, 'to remain uncovered in his presence; both at the solemn meetings of the grandees and in private interviews, when he would take them inside for private colloquy, he would tell them to sit near him. He would shake hands with them most familiarly and would call them apart from the body of ordinary retainers to indulge with them in private conversation. More than once, in public, he walked a short distance with Rudolf, his arm round Rudolf's neck....' This familiarity encouraged the

1. Ibid., p. 27.

Fathers to speak to him seriously on faults in his regime or his conduct. . . . 'modestly however and not without first examining what mood he was in.' "[1]

The King, in short, allowed them every liberty, and even permitted them to preach and convert people. 'His Majesty,' says Badāunī, 'ordered Prince Murād to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices and charged Abu-l Fazl to translate the Gospel.' During the Kābul campaign, Father Monserrate was allowed to accompany the King, and we have accordingly from the Father's pen an intimate and detailed account of Akbar's camp, his forces, the towns through which he passed, his advance beyond the Indus, and his final triumphant entry into Kābul : a document, as Maclagan points out, which no future historian of Akbar can fail to utilize. 'The King,' says Monserrate, 'listened ; but not to appear drawn to the Christian faith, he pretended sometimes to be occupied with other things. At the same time he did not fear to honour and kiss publicly the image of Christ.' At this attitude of Akbar the Fathers got disappointed, and even declared, 'Giving the pearls of the Gospel to the King was exposing them to be trampled and trodden under foot.' The Provincial at Goa, accordingly bade them return, but at the same time left them the discretion to stay on if that would serve any purpose.

Akbar was loth to part with the Fathers, but Monserrate left him under the pretext of leading an embassy from Akbar to Philip II, King of Spain. Rudolph Aquaviva, who was more hopeful, remained at Fathpūr for some time longer. His letter to the General of the Society of Jesus is valuable as revealing the hopes and designs of the Christians :—

"First' he wrote, 'the Emperor is in a more hopeful state than heretofore : he desires to know our Faith and attends to it with greater diligence than at first, showing much affection thereto, though impediments are not also lacking, and the love and familiarity with which he treats us leave nothing to be desired. (2) We hope to see some fruit from the Emperor's second son, Pahari, a boy of thirteen

1. Ibid., p. 32.

years of age, who is learning the Portuguese language and therewith the things relating to our Faith, and who shows himself well disposed thereto and who is of great natural genius and has good inclination. Father Monserrate was his teacher and now I am. (3) We have discovered a new nation of heathens called Bottan (Tibetans) which is beyond Lāhore towards the river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to pious works. They are white men, and Muhammadans do not live among them, wherefore hope that if two earnest Fathers are sent thither, a great harvest of other heathens may be reaped. (4) There is here an old man, the father of the Emperor's secretary, in whom he confides in matters of Faith. He has left the world and is of great virtue and given much to contemplation of divine things, whence he appears disposed to receive the light of our Faith. He is very friendly to us and listens to our Faith and we have already visited him several times at his house with much consolation. (5) Where we are is the true India, and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia ; and now that the Society has obtained a footing and is so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his sons, it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to commence the conversion of the continent of India ; seeing that all that had so far been done has been merely on the sea-coast.'

In spite of all these hopes, the reports of Father Monserrate were not encouraging, and Father Rudolf was also finally recalled by the Provincial at Goa. In February 1583, he left Akbar carrying with him an appreciatory epistle to the following effect :—

'God is great. Farmān of Jalāu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh Ghāzī...With regard to what he (the Provincial) wrote to me about sending hence Father Rudolf,—since I like very much the Book of the Heavenly Jesus, and desire to discover the truth of it with the aid of his skill to find out the meanings of those who have written in the past, therefore I have much love for the Father ; and, considering that he is wise and versed in the laws, I desire to have him every hour in conversation with me, and for this reason I refuse him the permission ; but as Your Paternity asked it me by letter several times, I did so, and gave him the permission ; and as my intention is that our friendship should go on increasing more and more day by day, it behoves Your Paternity to labour on your side towards preserving it, by sending Rudolph back to me with some other Father, and I wish this with least possible delay ; for I desire that the Fathers of this Order be with me, because I like them much. And to the Father I said many things by words of mouth,

for him to repeat them to Your Paternity, which Your Paternity will consider well. Done in the moon of the month of February 1583.'

Father Rudolph, however, met with an unexpected death and martyrdom. On the 27th July (N. S.), 1583, he was killed together with four companions by a fanatical mob of Hindūs at Cuncolim near Goa. In 1593 Rudolph was beatified by the Church, and is now known as the Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva. Akbar, when he heard of this untoward end of the Father, exclaimed 'Ah me, Father. Did I not tell you not to go away? But you would not listen to me.' He loved him, says Monserrate, not because he himself wished to become a Christian, but because he recognised the intense conviction of the Father in the truth of his own religion and his desire to bring others to his own way of life. Thus ended the First Jesuit Mission to the Court of Akbar.[1]

Second Jesuit Mission from Goa.

In 1590, Akbar for a second time renewed his intercourse with the Christians at Goa. This time he found a Greek sub-deacon named Leo Grimon to carry his message to the Provincial. "On this occasion," so ran the Emperor's *parwāna* addressed to his various provincial officers, who were asked to give safe conduct to the Christian envoy, "I am summoning the most learned and most virtuous of the Fathers that they may help me to a true knowledge of the Christian law and of the royal highways by which they travel to the presence of God. I, therefore, command my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Dom Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending....." To the Fathers of the Society, he wrote :—

"In the name of God. The exalted and invincible Akbar to those who are in God's grace and have tasted of His Holy Spirit and to those that are obedient to the Spirit of the Messiah and lead men to God. I say to you learned Fathers, whose words are heeded as those of men retired from the world, who have left the pomps and honours of earth : Fathers who walk by the true way :

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1. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

I would have your Reverences know that I have knowledge of all the faiths of the world both of various kinds of heathen and of the Muhammadans, save that of Jesus Christ which is from God and as such recognised and followed by many. Now, in that, I feel great inclination to the friendship of the Fathers, I desire that I may be taught by them the Christian law. There has recently come to my Court and royal palace one Dom Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters, and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India (Portuguese) several Fathers of great prudence and learning, and if this be so, your Reverences will be able, immediately on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputations with my doctors I may compare their several learning and character, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors,...and who by this means may be taught to know the truth. If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodging that they may live in greater honour and favour than any Father who has up to this been in this country and when they wish to leave I shall let them depart with honour. You should, therefore, do as I ask of you in this letter. Written at the commencement of the moon of June."[1]

The Provincial, accordingly, sent two Portuguese Fathers, Edward Leioton (Leitanus) and Christopher di Vega, with an assistant, who were received in Lāhore in 1591. The Provincial's report to his Superior dated November 1591, mentions, 'This embassy induced many, not only of the Fathers, but also of the students, to apply to be sent on the Mission, and there were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a companion who reached the Emperor's Court in 1591, and were received with great kindness. Every kind of favour was shown to them in the palace itself, necessaries were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor's own sons (Murād and Dāniyāl) and grandson (Khūsrū) were taught to read and write Portuguese.

'But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, they proposed to return to Goa, but were bidden by me not to do so.........And *as the conversion*

1. Ibid., pp. 46-7.

of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment, it is necessary to proceed skilfully and justly in the matter.'

But, as Smith observes, "No printed record explains how, why, or exactly when the Mission came to an abrupt conclusion. Its members were recalled and returned to Goa, at some time in 1592.... The suspicion seems justifiable that the Fathers selected were not in all respects the right persons for the task entrusted to them, and that they might have been somewhat faint-hearted."[1] Thus closed the Second Mission like the First, in disappointment and failure.

Third Jesuit Mission from Goa.

In 1594 Akbar, for the third time, desired the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to send a party of learned Christians to him. The message was conveyed by an Armenian Christian. But the Provincial, being very much disappointed by the results of the first two missions was not inclined to comply with the request. The Viceroy, however, thought differently. He hoped for "*good results not merely of a religious but also of a political character.*" So it was finally decided to send a Mission.

Father Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes were selected for the purpose. "They were, each in his own line, men of outstanding competence."[2] The first had seen much service in India and had held positions of trust. For twenty years he was to remain at the Mughal Court, "*working sometimes for the conversion of Emperors, and sometimes for the material advancement of the Portuguese*".[3] In the end he too returned to Goa and died there in June 1617. The second, according to Maclagan, "seems to have been the first of the Jesuits in Mogor to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than the Court."[4] He remained for many years

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 254-55.
2. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 50.
3. Ibid., p. 51.
4. Ibid.

at Lāhore as pastor of a large congregation, and at the same time enjoyed much favour and influence with Akbar. He returned to Goa in 1615, and only four years later 'he departed hence to a better Mission.' Brother Benedict seemed little interested in the Court of the Mughal, and distinguished himself by undertaking a Mission from Lāhore to China, in 1603. He died there in 1604.

On December 3, 1594, the party left Goa, sailing *via* Damān to Cambay. Thence they proceeded through the desert of Rājputāna, and after five months reached Lāhore on May 5, 1595. From this time to the death of Akbar, in 1605, there are two batches of Jesuit letters giving valuable information. The Indian sources for this period are scanty, and throw little light on the subject of Akbar's relations with the Christians. Badāunī's account stops with 1595 and Abu-l Fazl's with 1602. Father Jerome Xavier, the head of the Mission, was in attendance on Akbar all the last ten years of the Emperor's life. He also accompanied Akbar during his Deccan campaign.

Like its predecessors, this Mission was also well received at Lāhore. Father Pinheiro states in his letter of September 1595, "Both Emperor and Prince (Salīm) favoured us and treated us with much kindness and I observed that he paid to none of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desired us to sit in turn upon the cushion on which he and the Prince alone are wont to sit.' On the 20th August the same year, Father Jerome Xavier also wrote, 'He (Akbar) received us publicly with great honour and kindness and whenever he sees us he maintains the same attitude towards us and has us near him among the chief lords of the Court. . . . He has images of our Lord Christ and of the blessed Virgin which are of the best kind of those which are brought from Europe and he keeps them with respect and reverence. He evinces the greatest pleasure in showing them to others, holding them in arms for a long time in spite of fatigue which their size entails . . . . He sent us very costly gold and silk clothes, wherewith his servants handsomely adorned our chapel. . . . . The Emperor

gave us leave to bring together as many as might so wish to the church of Christ.'

He allowed them to start a school which was attended by the sons of some of the feudatory Princes and those of the Chief of Badakhshān. Two of these pupils asked to become Christians and one even wished to be admitted to Orders. The question of a site for a church at Lāhore was mooted and a church was ultimately built. It was opened in 1597 while Akbar was in Kāshmīr and the Governor of the city attended in person, remaining for some two hours conversing with Father Pinheiro in his house. At the following Christmas, Brother Benedict de Goes prepared a sacred Crib which was much admired. The Royal Princes followed Akbar's example in their attention to the Fathers and one of them went so far as to present large candles to be burnt in honour of Christ and the Virgin, accompanying his gift with liberal alms for the poor. The heir apparent himself, Prince Salīm, became the firm friend and protector of the Mission.[1]

When Akbar went to Kāshmīr in May, as above referred to, he took with him both Father Xavier, and Brother Goes. They stayed till November 1597. During their stay a great famine raged in the valley, and the Father baptised many orphans that had been left in the streets to die. After their return, both the Father and Brother suffered for about two months from fever. They had spent altogether two and a half years at the Court of Akbar with no encouraging result, so far as their main purpose was concerned. In 1598 the King of Spain wrote to his Viceroy at Goa that, although the Fathers had not yet produced any fruit, the Mission should not be allowed to expire, and ordered that, if the Fathers should die or have to be recalled, their places should be filled. 'The fruit,' he wrote, 'which has hitherto not shown itself, may appear whenever God pleaseth and when human hopes are perhaps the smallest.' But the Fathers got exasperated with Akbar's attitude. Akbar explained to them courteously that, whereas

1. Ibid., p. 54.

former rulers would have tried to suppress them, he had allowed them every liberty in his dominions.

The Fathers accompanied Akbar during his southern campaign. When he found himself confronted with the difficult siege of Asīrgarh, Akbar asked the Jesuits to procure the assistance of the Portuguese authorities at Goa. But Xavier refused on the plea that *such action was contrary to the Christian faith.* Du Jarric, however, points out that *the Father must also have been influenced by the fact that the Khāndesh forces against whom Akbar was fighting were in alliance with the Portuguese.*[1] This, therefore, enraged Akbar against the Jesuits whose objection seemed to him mere casuistry. For a time, until his wrath subsided, the Fathers withdrew from his presence.

Asīrgarh fell in January 1601. The Jesuits have given their own account of some of its details. "Whatever the truth as regards these incidents may be," says Maclagan, " the main point of interest to the Jesuits was that when the fort fell seven renegade Portuguese officers, who were captured among the defenders and were about to be subjected to cruel treatment, were, at Father Xavier's request, handed over to him and were by him reconverted to Christianity."[2] Then Father Pinheiro arrived from Lāhore, and he with Father Xavier went into the presence of the King who received them with much kindness, laying his hand on Pinheiro's shoulder ('which he does not do save to his great captains and his special favourites'). Akbar returned to Āgrā in May 1601 together with Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro.

Before his return, however, he had sent an embassy to Goa, for the fourth time, but only for a secular purpose. In his letter dated 20 March, 1601, Akbar requested, not for priests, but for a political alliance, skilled craftsmen, precious stones, etc. The Portuguese authorities exhibited all their

1. Ibid., pp. 57-8.
2. Ibid. 58.

ammunition to the ambassador and fired a demonstration salvo out of their heavy ordnance, but nothing more came out of the embassy.

In the following year, with the arrival of two other missionaries, Goes and Machado, the Jesuit Fathers at the Mughal Court formed a sort of 'College' or monastery. Now they succeeded in securing from Akbar, despite much opposition, notably from Mīrza Azīz Kokā, a written sanction under the Royal Seal expressly permitting such of his subjects as desired to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. Fifty Portuguese captives, who were held to ransom by Akbar, were also released and well treated by the intercession of the Fathers. 'My lord', said Xavier, 'you have liberated fifty captives, and in so doing have made fifty thousand Portuguese your servants.'[1]

In spite of these cordialities, the Portuguese Fathers suffered much hostility from some of the orthodox Muslim nobles, but more particularly on account of the intrigues of other Europeans who were now gathering at the Court of the Grand Mughal. Consequently, in 1605, when Akbar lay on his death-bed, the Jesuits were not allowed to be by his side. Their account of the happenings is thus given by Guerreiro and du Jarric :—

'The Fathers, who had full information of the King's sickness, went on a Saturday to see him in the hope that he would hear the words which, after long thought and having commended the matter to God, they had prepared for this hour. But they found him amongst his Captains, and in so cheerful and merry a mood, that they deemed the time unsuitable for speaking to him of the end of this life, and decided to await another opportunity. They came away fully persuaded that he was making good progress....On the Monday following, however, it was reported on all sides that......His Majesty was dying. On hearing this the Fathers went to the palace; but they could find no one who could make their arrival known to the King, or dare to speak to him of them; for already such matters were more in the hands of the great nobles than of the King him-

1. Ibid., p. 645.

self ; and hence every means by which the Fathers tried to gain entrance was ineffectual.'[1]

Akbar and the English.

Direct intercourse between England and India began as early as October 1579 when Father Thomas Stevens, a Jesuit from Oxford, arrived in Goa. He remained there for forty years, studied Konkanī, wrote its grammar, and also a book of verses containing 11,000 strophes of high literary merit. His letters to England stimulated much interest in that country about India. Consequently, in 1581, a company of English merchants started with a Charter from Elizabeth, and two years later sent John Newbury, a London merchant, on the first British mercantile adventure to India. William Leedes, a jeweller, and James Story, a painter, and Ralph Fitch, another London merchant, accompanied Newbury. At Goa they were imprisoned as heretics and obtained release on bail, with considerable difficulty, owing to the good offices of Father Stevens. James Story alone was welcomed by the Jesuits as an artist capable of painting their Church. He settled down in Goa, married a half-caste girl, opened a shop, and gave up all thought of returning to Europe. His three companions escaped secretly, visited Belgaum, Bījapūr, Golkondā, Masulīpatām, Burhānpūr, Māndū, and went to Āgrā *via* Mālwā and Rājputāna, 'passing many rivers, which by reason of the rain were so swollen that we waded and swam oftentimes for our lives.' Fitch was the only member of this party to return to Europe ; he reached London in 1591. The others were never heard of again.

Fitch has left some interesting impressions of his visit to Fathpūr Sīkrī and Āgrā :—" Āgrā," he writes, "is a very great citie, and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire river running by it, which falls into the gulfe of Bengālā. It hath a faire castle and a strong, with a very faire ditch. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdin (Jalālu-d dīn) Echebar : the people for the most part call him the great Mogor.

1. Ibid., p. 62.

"From thence wee went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater than Agra, but the houses and streets be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. (Muhammadans and Hindūs).

"The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1,000 elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1,400 tame deers, 800 concubines; such store of Ounces (cheetah?), Tigers, Buffles (buffaloes kept for fighting), Cocks and Haukes, that is very strange to see.

"He kept a great Court, which they call Dericcan.

"Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous.[1] Between Agra and Fatepore are 12 miles (*kos?*—23 miles) and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market.

"They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheeles, which be drawen with two little Buls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England. Hither is great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in white Cabie, made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head coloured often times with red or yellow. None came into his house but his eunoches which keepe his women."[2]

The next Englishman to come to India was John Mildenhall or Midnall, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. No text of the letter

1. The population of London in 1580 was 123,034, and 152,478 between 1593-5. The population of Fathpūr Sīkrī, according to Smith, may have been about 200,000 in 1585.—Smith, op. cit., p. 108, n 5.

2. Ibid., pp. 108-9.

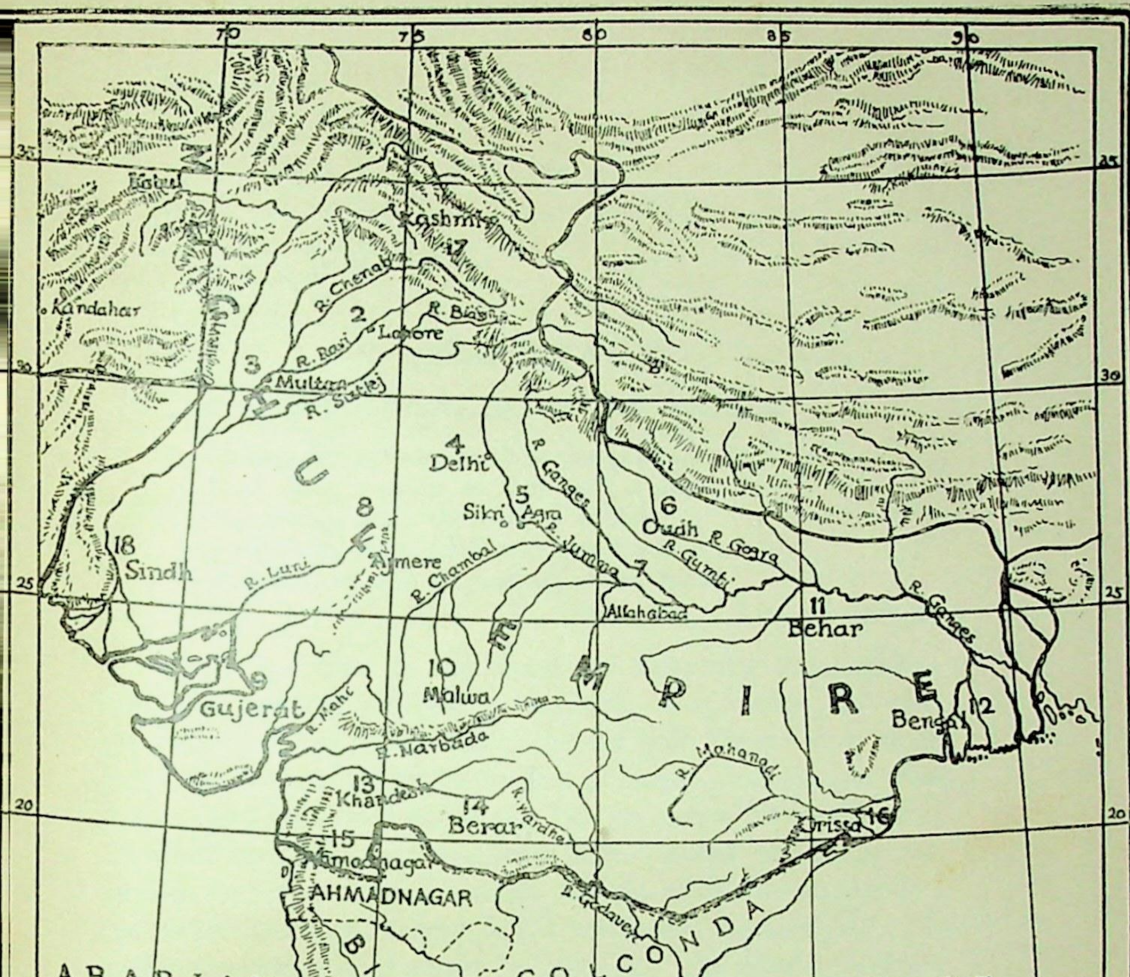
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is extant. Mildenhall who was a merchant, sailed from London on February 12, 1599. He made his way to Lāhore, early in 1603, by the land route *via* Kandahār. He brought to the Emperor 29 good horses, some of which cost £50 or 60 each. He stated his mission before the council of ministers, and also asked the Emperor not to take offence if the English should capture Portuguese ships or ports on his coasts. Some days later Akbar presented him with gifts worth £500, which put the Jesuits 'in an exceeding great rage.' They began to denounce Englishmen as thieves and spies. In six months time "the Jesuits bought over Akbar's two principal ministers with bribes of at least £500 each, and enticed away the Armenian interpreter of the envoy, who was obliged to work hard studying Persian for six months in order to be able to speak for himself."[1] When Akbar heard the case against the Jesuits, he granted a *farmān* to Mildenhall. "The discomfiture of the Jesuits," says Smith, "must have taken place in August or September 1605, after the reconciliation with Salīm and shortly before Akbar's fatal illness, which began late in September."[2]

Mildenhall's negotiations perhaps were responsible for the decision taken a few years later to send Sir Thomas Roe as the duly accredited ambassador of James I. Not until August 1608, however, did the first English vessel, *Hector,* call at the port of Surat. The Englishmen who visited India during Akbar's life-time were only pioneers unconscious of the great good fortune which lay in store for their country in the future.

The Dutch had come to India, but they confined their activities to the coasts of India and never cared to visit either the Court or the capital of Akbar.

1. Ibid., p. 293.
2. Ibid., p. 294.



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN 1605 A. D.

CHAPTER VI

REORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE

'I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let them worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I call from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend.'

Tennyson, AKBAR'S DREAM.

Those that take up the sword can have only one justification, *viz.*, seeking, not merely extension of dominion, but also the welfare of the people coming under their sway. Sher Shāh had tried to rule according to this principle, and though Providence had given him no worthy heir to ensure its continuance, his good work did not perish with him. Akbar carried to perfection, so far as it was possible for his genius to accomplish, the policy which the enemy of his house had inaugurated. He strove to achieve what might be called the true aims of a benevolent autocracy. In the words of Abu-l Fazl, 'It is universally agreed that the noblest employments are the reformation of the manners of the people ; the advancement of agriculture ; the regulation of the officers ; and the discipline of the army. And these desirable ends are not to be attained without studying to please the people, joined with good management of finances, and an exact economy in the management of the State. But when all these are kept in view, every class of people enjoys prosperity.' Akbar sought to achieve these ends, and his administration, as Moreland, has pointed out, was "severely practical." A chief or *rājā* who submitted and agreed to pay a reasonable revenue, therefore, was commonly allowed to retain his posi-

tion of authority. His administrative system nevertheless, favoured the direct relations between the State and the individual peasant, the assessment and collection of revenue being controlled from the centre, and the officers having to account in detail for all receipts."[1] It was in fact a centralised monarchy acting through a bureaucratic machinery ; all the strings of the government were in the Emperor's own hands and controlled by him directly. Yet, for the sake of administrative convenience, there were the usual Departments : Military, Revenue, Justice and Religion. Prof. (Sir) J. N. Sarkar has given the following description of them in his *Mughal Administration* :—

I. Central Government

'The chief Departments of the Mughal administration were :—

1. The Exchequer and Revenue (under the High *Diwān*).
2. The Imperial Household (under the *Khān-i-sāmān*).
3. The Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the Imperial *Bakshī*).
4. Canon Law, both Civil and Criminal (under the Chief *Qāzī*).
5. Religious Endowments and Charity (under the Chief *Sadr*).
6. Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Muhtasīb*).

' Inferior to these, but ranking almost like the Departments, were :

7. The Artillery (under the *Mīr Ātish* or *Daroghā-i-tophkhānā*).
8. Intelligence and Posts (under the *Daroghā* of *Dākchaukī*).

'The innumerable *kārkhānās* (*i. e.,* factories and stores), each under a *daroghā* or superintendent, were not Departments. Most of them were under the *Khān-i-sāmān*.'

1. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 3 and 34.

1. *The Chancellor* : The highest officer next to the Emperor was called the *Wazīr* or *Vakīl*. He was the Prime Minister or Chancellor of the Empire, and under the later Mughals he exercised dictatorial authority, like the Mayors of the Palace in medieval France, or the Peshwās in India. He was always the *Diwān* as well, and in this capacity, the head of the Revenue Department. Like every great officer of the Mughal Government, he was expected to command an army, and often did lead a short expedition ; but the necessity of his constant attendance on the Emperor prevented him from taking charge of military operations for a long time or at a distance from the Imperial camp. 'Thus, in its origin the *Wazīr's* post was a civil one, and his assumption of the supreme military direction was abnormal and a mark of Imperial decadence.'[1]

2. *The Bakshī or Pay-Master* :—Almost all officers of any rank being enrolled, at least in theory, as military commanders, their salaries were calculated in terms of the contingents under them and passed by the Pay-Master of the Army. This officer at a later time was called the *Mīr* or First *Bakshī* when he had under him three others, respectively called the Second, Third, and Fourth *Bakshīs*. Greater particulars of this Department will be considered later.

3. *The Khān-i-sāmān or High Steward* :—This important officer was the head of the Imperial household. According to Manucci, "He had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things."[2] All the personal staff of the Emperor was under his control, and he also supervised the Emperor's daily expenditure (*e.g.*, food, tents, stores, etc.). Often *Wazīrs* were chosen from among the *Khān-i-sāmāns*.

4. *The Qāzī-ul quzāt or Chief Judge* :—This '*Qāzī* of the Imperial Camp', as he was also designated, made all the appointments of local *qāzīs* in various parts of the Empire.

1. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 22-3.
2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 26 n.

5. *The Sadr-us-sudūr or Chief Sadr* :—This officer was the Chief Civil Judge and Supervisor of the Endowments of land made by the Emperor or Princes, for the support of pious men, scholars, and monks. 'It was his duty to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose and also to scrutinise applications for fresh grants. . . . The *Sadr* was also the Emperor's almoner and had the spending of the vast sums which the Emperors set apart for charity in the month of *Ramzān* and other holy occasions,—amounting to 1½ lakhs of rupees in the reign of Aurangzeb, and at Court ceremonies.[1] Like the Chief *Qāzī*, he also made the appointments of the local *Sadr*. For this post, men of the best Arabic scholarship and sanctity of life were selected.'

6. *Muhtasīb or Censor of Public Morals* :—His duties were to see that Muslims led lives according to the Prophet's commands, and did not indulge in forbidden things. A part of the instructions issued to the censor ran—'In the cities do not permit the sale of intoxicating drinks, nor the residence of 'professional women' (*tawaif*, dancing-girls), as it is opposed to the Sacred Law. Give good counsel and warning to those who violate the Qurānic precepts. Do not show harshness (at first), for then they would give you trouble. First send advice to the leaders of these people, and if they do not listen to you, then report the case to the Governor.'[2]

II. Provincial Administration

'The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire,' observes Sarkar, 'was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government.' The Governor was officially called the *Nāzīm*, but popularly known as the *Sūbāhdār*. The administration was concentrated at the provincial capital. Touch with the villages was maintained by (i) the *fauzdār*, (ii) the revenue collectors, (iii) *zamīndār's* visits to the *Sūbāhdār*, and (iv) the tours of the *Sūbāhdār* himself. But in spite of all

1. Ibid., p. 28.
2. Ibid., pp. 30-1.

this the villagers led their own peaceful life under their local *panchāyat* administration, undisturbed for the most part by what took place in the rest of the world.

The duties of the principal provincial officers were as follows :—

1. *The Sūbāhdār* : His chief function was to maintain order in his province, to assist the collection of revenue, and to execute the Imperial *farmāns* sent to him. He also collected the tribute due from the vassal princes in the neighbourhood of his jurisdiction. The instruction issued to a new ***sūbāhdār***, though they look like counsels of perfection, were :

'He ought to keep all classes of men pleased by good behaviour, and to see that the strong may not oppress the weak. He should keep all the oppressors down....the *sūbāhdār* should take care to recommend only worthy officials for promotion....and every month send two despatches to Court by *dāk-chaukī* reporting the occurrences of the province.

'When you are appointed, you should engage a good *diwān*,—a trustworthy and experienced man who has already done work in the service of some high grandee.—and a *munshī* (secretary) with similar ability and experience. You should secure a trustworthy mediator or friend (*wasīlah*) at Court to report promptly to the Emperor and take his orders on any affair of the province on which you may write to His Majesty....

'*Encourage the ryots to extend the cultivation and carry on agriculture with all their heart. Do not screw everything out of them. Remember that the ryots are permanent* (i.e., the only permanent source of income to the State). Conciliate the *zamīndārs* with presents ; *it is cheaper to keep them in hand thus than to repress them with troops.*'[1]

2. *The Provincial Dīwān* : He was the second officer in the province, and 'the rival of the *sūbāhdār*.' The two kept a jealous and strict watch over each other. The provincial *Diwān* was appointed by the Imperial officer of the same name, and was in constant correspondence with him. He was specially charged to increase the cultivation and select only honest men for the post of *amīn*. Twice every month he was to report to the High *Diwān* the occurrences of the *sūbāh*, with a state-

1. Ibid., pp. 57-61.

ment of the cash balance with him. 'The *Diwān* was specially urged to appoint as collectors (*krorīs* and *tahsīldārs*) practical men who were likely to *induce the ryots to pay the government-dues of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement*' (*Manual*, 13-14). The *sanad* of appointment ran :

'Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the Imperial treasury, that nobody may draw any money without due warrant. When due money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the *fotadārs* and other sources, give receipts (*quaz-ul-wasul*) to their agents. *See that no official* (*āmil*) *exacts any forbidden cess* (*abwab*).

" At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original (rough) papers the extortions and peculations of the *āmils* and recover for the Imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. *Report bad or dishonest āmils to Government* (i.e. to the High *Diwān*) *so that better men may be appointed to replace them.*

" If any *āmil* has let arrears (of revenue) accumulate for many years, you should collect the due amount from the villages in question by *easy instalments* at the rate of 5 per cent. every season. The *taqavī* loan given last year by Government should be realised in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay or delay payment, Government will compel the *Diwān* and the *amīn* to make the amount good. Send the papers of your Department to the Imperial Record Office according to the regulations."[1]

3. *The Faujdār* : The *faujdārs* were assistants of the *sūbāhdār* in the maintenance of peace and the discharge of all his executive duties. Each *faujdār* was in charge of a division or district of the province. The following instructions were issued to them :—

'A *faujdār* should be brave and *polite* in dealing with his soldiers. He should enlist in his contingent of armed retainers only men of known bravery and good family......

'Keep up your practice in the exercise of all weapons of war, in hunting and in riding horses, so as to keep yourself in a fit condition and to be able to take the field promptly (when called upon to march to a scene of disturbance.) Do justice to the oppressed. (*Manual*, 34-36).

1. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

'Destroy the forts of lawless men and rebel chiefs as the best means of punishing them. Guard the roads, protect the revenue-payers. Assist and give (armed) support to the *gumāshtāhs* (agents) of the *jāgīrdārs* (in the case of military fiefs) and the *kroris* (in the case of Crown-lands) at the time of collecting the revenue.

'Forbid the blacksmiths to manufacture matchlocks. Urge the *thānāhdārs* (men in command of the outposts or smaller areas within a *faujdārī*), whom you appointed under yourself, to take complete possession of their charges, to abstain from dispossessing the people from their rightful property and from levying any forbidden cess (*abwab*).'[1]

4. *The Kotwāl* : The *kotwāl* was the most important of the local officers. He was a man of all work, from the inspection of prisoners to the observance of the *Ilāhī* era and the various festivals by the people ; from the maintenance of the safety of the roads to the regulation of the markets ; from the inspection of weights and measures to the prevention of vice, and even wasteful extravagance by private individuals, 'because when a man spends in excess of his income it is certain that he is doing something wrong.' He was also charged to keep census of the houses and inhabitants in his jurisdiction, to keep an eye over visitors and foreigners coming in and going out, to maintain a body of informers to keep in touch with the daily and hourly happenings, etc., etc. No wonder, therefore, Abu-l Fazl lays down—'The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute, and humane.'[1] His duties are thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* :—

'Through his watchfulness and night-patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequented roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with

1. Ibid., pp. 63-65.

whom the others should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a heedful scrutiny...... He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and *by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration.* Of every guild of artificers, he should name one as a guild-master, and another as broker, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From these he should require frequent reports. When the night is a little advanced, he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the idle to some handicraft......He should discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct that no one shall demand a tax or cess save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats and merchandise. In every *sūbāh* a slight impost shall be levied at an appointed place. Old coins should be given in to be melted down or consigned to the treasury as bullion. He should suffer no alteration in the value of the gold and silver coin of the realm, and its diminution by wear in circulation he shall recover to the value of the deficiency. *He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices and not allow purchase to be made outside the city.* The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption. He shall examine the weights and make the *ser* not more or less than 30 *dāms*. In the *gaz*......he should permit neither decrease nor increase, and *restrain the people from the making, the dispensing, the buying or selling of wine, but refrain from invading the privacy of domestic life.* Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no heir, he shall take an inventory and keep it in his care. He should reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women. He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public water-courses; and prohibit women from riding on horseback. *He should direct that no ox or buffalo or horse, or camel be slaughtered,* and *forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination, nor a criminal deserving of death, to be impaled,* nor any one to be circumcised under the age of twelve, etc., etc.[1]

5. *News Reporters* : There were four kinds of news-reporters : (i) the *wākāi-navīs ;* (ii) the *sawanih-nigar ;* (iii) the *khufia-navīs;* and (iv) the *harkarah.* The first was the regular reporter posted with the army, in the provinces, and in all the towns ; the latter were appointed, either occasionally or

1. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, pp. 41-3.

regularly, to make sure that the *wākāi-navīses* sent correct news. The news letters were sent to the *daroghā-dākchaukī*, i.e., Superintendents of Posts and Intelligence, who handed them unopened to the *Wazīr* to be placed before the Emperor. 'These four classes of public intelligencers acted under the orders of this *Daroghā* who was their official superior and protector. Sometimes an irate governor would publicly insult or beat the local news-writer for a report against himself and then the *Daroghā* would take up the cause of his subordinate, and get the offending governor punished.'[1] The arrangement was that '*wākāi* should be sent once a week, *sawānih* twice, and the *akhbār* of *harkarahs* once (? a month) and the despatches in cylinders (*nalo*) from the *nāzim* and the *diwān* twice every month, in addition to urgent matters (which are to be reported immediately).'[2]

6. *Revenue Collectors* : (i) The *Krorī* or 'collector of State dues' was the real collector of revenue. The arrangement was first introduced by Akbar (*Āīn.* i, p. 13), and signified an officer in charge of a district which was expected to yield a revenue of one *Kror* of *Dām* (2½ lakhs of rupees). Later on the name was applied even to other collectors of state dues like the *krorīs* of *ganj* or collectors of markets. The *sanad* of appointment read :—

'Collect the revenue season by season as assessed by the *amīn*, and pay it to the *fotādār*. With the advice of the *faujdār* and *amīn*, carefully deposit the money in the Imperial treasury, giving a receipt for it to the *fotādār*. Send to the Government Record Office your abstract of accounts and statements of income and disbursements and other papers, as laid down in the regulations.' The regulations were :—

'The *krori* ought to entertain a body of militia (*sehbandi*) proportionate to his jurisdiction and collect the revenue without negligence and at the right time. He should not demand *mahsul* (the state due in cash or kind) from places not yet capable of paying, lest their ryots should run away. *He should urge his subordinates not to realise anything in excess of the regulations*, lest he

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 71.
2. Ibid., p. 75.

should in the end be subject to *wasilat* (examination of accounts with a view to detect peculation). He should be honest. (*Manual*, p. 66.)'[1]

(ii) *The Amīn and the Qānungo* : The *Amīn*, as his name implies, was an umpire between the State demanding revenue and the individual *rayat* paying the same. According to the *Manual of the Duties of Officers*, 'The *amīn's* work is to cause the kingdom to be cultivated. Before the season of cultivation, he should take from the *qānungoes* the preceding ten years' papers of the revenue assessment and area of the villages, ride to the villages in company with the *krorīs*, *chaudharīs*, *qānungoes* and *zamīndārs*, inquire into the condition of the villages, as regards their (culturable) area and the actual number of ploughs, compare the area given in the papers of the *qānungo* with the real area, and if the two do not agree, call upon the *qānungo* to explain, and censure the headmen (in the case of shortage)......Then enquire whether the existing ploughs are sufficient for the cultivators of the village. If not, then grant *taqavī* (agricultural loans),....for the purchase of oxen and seeds, taking bonds from the headmen for the recovery of the loan with the first instalment of the next year's revenue, and indemnity-bonds from the *krorīs* that they would realise the loan with the first instalment of the next year.'

The *Qānungo* was the living dictionary of the *qānūn* or regulations regarding land. He kept registers of the value, tenure, extent, and transfers of lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue-payers, and explaining when required, local practices and public regulations. The *Manual* states, 'The Emperor's business goes on in reliance on your papers. To your office belong the papers of division, comparison, etc. ......Keep two copies of the records,—one in your house and the other in your office (in charge of your *gumāshtāh*) so that one at least may be saved in case of fire or flood.'[2]

1. Ibid., p. 86. Read *The Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 109-110.
2. Ibid., pp. 87-9.

Fifteen Sūbāhs.

The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* relates, ' In the fortieth year of the Divine Era, His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and five *Sarkārs* (divisions of a *Sūbāh* subdivided into 2737 townships). When the ten years' settlement (see below) of the revenue was made............ His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Sūbāh* and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of country or its capital city. These were Allahābād, Āgrā, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadābād, Bihār, Bengal, Delhī, Kābul, Lāhore, Multān, Mālwā : and when Berār, Khāndesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen.' This is followed by a detailed description of the provinces, their boundaries, administration, products, etc.

III. Akbar's Revenue System

Land Revenue was the principal source of income to the Empire. The other sources of Imperial revenue were customs, mint, inheritance, presents, monopolies, and indemnities. Its total, according to the *Āīn.*, amounted to 363 *krors* of *dāms ;* the land-revenue alone (from the 12 *sūbāhs* in 1579-80) was Rs. 90,744,000. Different systems obtained in different parts of the country before Akbar's conquest. Akbar's policy was directed towards reducing these to a common system. The task was a very difficult one. In 1570-71 Muzaffar Khān Turbatī and Rājā Todar Mal were asked to revise the land-revenue assessments according to estimates framed by local *qānungoes*, and checked by ten officers at the head-quarters. " Thus, for the first time since the establishment of the Mughal power, was the local knowledge of the old hereditary revenue officials employed in determining the amount of the State demand."[1] In 1573, Todar Mal made his famous systematic survey of all the lands in Gujarāt, which became the basis of his later reforms known as Todar Mal's *Bandobast*. " There is

Todar Mal's *Bandobast.*

1. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 198.

no name in medieval history", says Lane-Poole, "more renowned in India to the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system."[1] Two years later, in 1575-6, with the exception of Bengal, Bihār, and Gujarāt a fresh survey was carried out, and the Empire was divided into 182 equal fiscal units each roughly yielding a revenue of a *kror* of *tankās* (?) or Rs. 250,000. Such a unit was made the charge of an officer called the *krorī*, described above. This artificial system was too mathematically perfect to succeed in practice, and had soon to be discarded. Consequently, a fresh attempt at reform was made in 1579-80. This resulted in the division of the Empire into the 12 *sūbāhs* already referred to, and the introduction of the ten-year's settlement. The history of these reforms is thus given in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* :—

'When Khwājāh Abdul Majīd Āsaf Khān was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, the total revenue was taken at an estimation, and the assignments were increased as the caprice of the moment suggested. And because at that time the extent of the Empire was small, and there was a constant increase of dignities among the servants of the State, the variations were contingent on the extent of corruption and self-interest. When this great office devolved on Muzaffar Khān and Rājā Todar Mal, in the 15th year of the reign, a redistribution of the Imperial assessment was made through the *qānungoes*, and estimating the produce of the lands they made a fresh settlement. Ten *qānungoes* were appointed who collected the accounts from the provincial *qānungoes* and lodged them in the Imperial exchequer. Although this settlement was somewhat less than the preceding one, nevertheless there had been formerly a wide discrepancy between the estimates and the receipts.

'When through the prudent management of the Sovereign the Empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandman complained of extensive exactions, and, on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances. His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 261.

mind fixed a settlement for ten years : the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the 15th year of the divine era to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment ; but from the 20th to the 24th year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted.'

This measurement of land was preceded by a reform of the units of measurement ; the *gaz*, the *tanab* and the *bhīgā*, were set and defined.[1] When His Majesty had determined the *gaz*, the *tanab*, and the *bhīgā*, in his profound sagacity he classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each.

'*Polaj* is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow. *Parautī* is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength. *Chachār* is land that has lain fallow for three or four years. *Banjar* is land uncultivated for five years and more.

'Of the two first kinds of land, there are three classes, good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third part of which is exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Khān, *which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment*, generally obtained, and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money....

'His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. and two per cent. was divided between the *patwārī* and the *qānungo*......Many imposts, equal in amount to the income of Hindūstān were remitted by His Majesty as a thanks-offering to the Almighty. Among these were the following :—

'The capitation tax, the port duties, the pilgrim tax, the tax on various classes of artificers, *Daroghā's* fees, *Tahasīldār's* fees, market duties, passports, fees on the sale and purchase of a house, on salt made from nitrous earth,......in fine all those imposts which the natives of Hindūstān include under the term *Sair Jihāt*, were remitted.

1. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, pp. 58-62.

'When either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation, the husbandmen are, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year therefore but two-fifths of the produce is taken : in the second three-fifths : in the third four-fifths ; and in the fifth the ordinary revenue. According to differences of situation the revenue is paid either in money or in kind. In the third year the charges of 5 per cent. and one *dām* for each *bhīgā* are added.'[1]

IV. The Army[2] and Fleet

We have stated above that the salaries of almost all important officers of the Empire were disbursed by the *Bakshī* or Pay-Master General of the Army. They were all enrolled, whatever the nature of their actual duties, as military officers ; and their status and emoluments were calculated in terms of the military contingents under them. "Though on several occasions," observes Prof. Sarkar, "we have officers invested with the title of *sipāh-sālār* or 'commander of troops,' it was only a mark of honour and they did not command the entire Mughal army. The Emperor was the only Commander-in-Chief."[3]

Abu-l Fazl thus describes the organisation of the Imperial army :

'His Majesty guides the Imperial army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.[4] The principal grades of officers and classes of troops were (1) *Mansabdārs*, (2) *Ahadīs*, (3) *Dakhilīs*, and (4) the Infantry.

1. *Mansabdārs.* According to Abu-l Fazl, the Emperor appointed the *Mansabdārs* 'from the *Dabhāshī* (commander of ten) to the *Dah Hazārī* (commander of ten thousand), limiting, however, all commands above 5000, to his august sons (or nobles of the highest rank) . . . .

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1. Ibid., pp. 62-7.
2. Read "Monserrate on Akbar's Army" by Moreland, in the J. I. H., April 1936.
3. Sarkar, op. cit.,| p. 25.
4. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, p. 231.

'The monthly grants made to the *Mansabdārs* varied according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent came up to his *mansab*, was put into the First Class of his rank; if his contingent was one half and upwards of his fixed number, he was put into the Second Class; the Third Class contained those contingents which were still less. Their salaries were as follows :—

Rank : Commanders of—	Monthly Salary in Rupees.		
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
10,000	60,000	— —	— —
5,000	30,000	29,000	28,000
1,000	8,200	8,100	8,000
500	2,500	2,300	2,100
100	700	600	500
10	100	82½	75

These salaries included also the expenses of the contingents maintained by each *Mansabdār*. But, as pointed out above, few *Mansabdārs* actually maintained the full complement indicating their rank. A commander of 100, if he had his full establishment, had to spend Rs. 313; one of 1,000, Rs. 3015½; and of 5,000, Rs. 10,637.

The higher *Mansabdārs* were mostly Governors of *Sūbāhs*. They were at first called *Sipāhsālārs;* towards the end of Akbar's reign they were known as *Hakīms* and afterwards, *Sāhib Sūbāh* or *Sūbāhdār*, and still later merely *Sūbāh*. The other *Mansabdārs* held *jāgīrs* which after Akbar frequently changed hands.

The contingents of the *Mansabdārs* formed the greater part of the army, and were inspected from time to time. They were paid from the central or the local treasuries. Badāunī states : 'Shāhbāz Khān, the *Mīr Bakshī*, introduced the custom and rule of the *dāgh o mahalli* (branding of animals), which had been the rule of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī and afterwards the law under Sher Shāh. It was settled that every *Amīr* should commence as a Commander of Twenty

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(*bisti*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard...... and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Sadi* or Commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their *Mansab*, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the masters their new contingents complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hazārī*, *Duhazārī* and even *Panjhazārī*, which is the highest *Mansab* (for other than Princes of the royal blood; Rājā Mān Singh, who held a *Mansab* of 7,000, was an exception); but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be put down.[1]

2. *Ahadīs.*—'There were many brave and worthy persons,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'whom His Majesty does not appoint to a *mansab*, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. These were the *Ahadīs*.

'For the sake of the convenience of the *Ahadīs*, a separate *Dīwān* and a pay-master are appointed, and one of the great *Amīrs* is their chief......Many *Ahadīs* have indeed more than Rs. 500 per mensem ....In the beginning when their rank was first established, some *Ahadīs* mustered eight horses; but now the limit is five...... *Ahadīs* are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the *Dīwān* and the *Bakshī*, which is called now-a-days *Tahchihah*, the clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be counter-signed by the principal grandees. This the treasurer keeps and pays the claim.......On joining the service, an *Ahadī* generally finds his own horse; but afterwards gets it from the Government. ......Those who are in want of horses, are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one half being reckoned as grant, and the other half

1. Ibid., pp. 236-47—Read Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, "Organization of public services in Mughal India (1526-1707)" in J. B. O. R. S., XXIII, 1937, pt. 2, pp. 1-54. Also "Rank in the Mogul State Service" by Moreland in J. R. A. S., Oct. 1936; "Zāt Rank in the Mughal Army" by Moreland, in J. I. H., Dec. 1936; and "Some Notes on Mughal Mansabs" by C. S. K. Rao Sahib, in ibid. April, 1937.

being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters; or, if the *Ahadī* be in debt, in eight instalments.'[1]

3. *Dakhilī.*—'A fixed number of troops are handed over to the *Mansabdārs;* but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nimah suwārān*, or half troopers.

'The fourth part of *Dakhilī* troops are matchlock-bearers; the others carry bows.

'Carpenters, workers in iron, water-carriers, pioneers, belong to this class.'[2]

4. *Infantry.*—'They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

'The *First Class* gets 500 *dāms;* the *Second*, 400 *dāms;* the *Third*, 300 *dāms;* the *Fourth*, 240 *dāms* (Re. 1 = 40 *dāms.*)

'There are 12,000 Imperial matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced *Bitikchī*, an honest treasurer and an active *Darogāh.* A few *bandūgchīs* are selected for these offices; the others hold the following ranks :—

'Some are distinguished by their experience and zeal and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these (non-commissioned) officers is of four grades, *First*, 300 *dāms; Second*, 280 *dāms; Third*, 270 *dāms; Fourth*, 260 *dāms.*

'Common *bandūgchīs* are divided into five classes, and each class into three sub-divisions. *First Class*, 250, 240 and 230 *dāms. Second Class*, 220, 210, 200 *dāms. Third Class*, 190, 180, and 170 *dāms. Fourth Class*, 160, 150, and 140 *dāms. Fifth Class*, 130, 120, and 110 *dāms.*'

Besides these regular troops there were a number of miscellaneous camp-followers like the runners, wrestlers, and *Pālkī-bearers.* About the last the *Āīn.* says, 'They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *Pālkīs, singhāsans, chaudols,* and *dulis*, they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenienced

1. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, I, pp. 249-50.
2. Ibid., p. 254.

by any jolting.[1] There are many in this country, but the best came from the Dakhin and Bengal......The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 *dāms*. Common bearers get from 120 to 160 *dāms*.'[2]

Army Regulations.

'When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and enquired into the quality of the horses,[3] he ordered that upright *Bitikchīs* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. A *Darogha* also was appointed whose duty it was to see that the men were not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations....

'His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay.'

Various signs were used for branding horses. 'At last, numerals were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron numerals, by which all indistinctness is avoided. These new signs are likewise put on the right thigh......The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to, resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses....Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones; but as the mark was not forthcoming, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest......

'The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to Court and to partake of the liberty of His Majesty.

1. Cf. Gaily O gaily we glide and we sing.
We bear her along like a pearl on a string.—
Sarojini Naidu, *Palanquin-Bearers.*
2. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, I, pp. 251-54.
3. 'They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily food has also been fixed. These seven classes are *Arabs, Persian horses, Mujannas, Turki horses, Yabus, Tazis,* and *Janglah* horses.'—Ibid, Āīn 2. *On the Animals of the Army*, pp. 233-36.

But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on weekly parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour.

'The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

'His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers...If His Majesty is prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the Princes is ordered to inspect the guards. From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.'[1]

The Arsenal.

'The order of the Household, the efficiency of the Army, and the welfare of the Country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrutinizingly into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes.'[2]

'Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the State; and befitting keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the Government than this. There are now-a-days guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 *mans;* several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a King, and devotes to it much of his time. *Darogāhs* and clever clerks are appointed, to keep the whole in proper working order.....

1. Ibid., pp. 255-58.
2. Ibid., p. 109.

'The Imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each *Sūbāh* has that kind which is fit for it for the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements. His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches....

Amīrs and *Ahadīs* are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *dāms*.

'Matchlocks are now made so strong, that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top. Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from foresight, on one side open; but numerous accidents were the results, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction: They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in the form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; then they join the folds, not edge to edge, but, so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and pierce them when hot with an iron pin. Three or four of such pieces make one gun or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long....Bullets are also made so as to cut like a sword....Several things are marked on every matchlock, *viz.*, the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number.....

'Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments, in order to clean matchlocks. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a cow.'[1]

The Fleet.

This department is of great use for the successful operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general; it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provided for agriculture, and His Majesty's household. His Majesty, in fostering the source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship.

'*Firstly*.—The fitting out of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants. Some are made in such a manner as to be of use

1. Ibid., pp. 112-15.

in sieges and for the conquest of strong forts. Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were houses and dromedaries and use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, Zanzibar, and Europe. In every part of His Majesty's Empire, ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kāshmīr, and T'hat'ha (Sindh) they are the pivot of all commerce...Along with the coast of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Ilāhābās and Lāhore and are then sent to the coast.

'*Secondly.*—To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the tides, the depths of the ocean, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shallows and banks. Besides, a seaman must be hale and strong, a good swimmer, kind-hearted, hard-working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient, in fact he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best seamen came from Malibār (Malabār).

'*Thirdly.*—An experienced man has been appointed to look after the rivers... As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding fords, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very uneven, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers that a ferry-boat may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and *sees that poor people are passed over gratis*. He ought not to allow people to swim across, or wares to be deposited anywhere else but at fording places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night unless in cases of necessity.

'*Fourthly.*—The remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the revenue of a whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The State takes certain taxes in harbour places; but they never exceed 2½ per cent., which is so little compared with the taxes formerly levied, and merchants look upon harbour taxes as totally remitted.

'The following sums are levied as river tolls :—For every boat Re. 1 per *kos*, at the rate of 1000 *mans*, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is Re. 1 for every 2½ *kos*. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 10*d*. for crossing; a laden cart, 4*d*.; same, empty, 2*d*.; a laden camel, 1*d*.; empty camels, horses, cattle with

their things, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$! same, empty, $\frac{1}{4}d.$ Other beasts of burden pay 1|16*d.;* which includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1*d.* for crossing ; but they are often taken gratis.

'The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the state (the rest to the boatmen).

'Merchants are therefore well treated, and the articles of foreign countries are imported in large quantities.'[1]

V. The Imperial Mint

To complete this brief survey of Akbar's administration we might add one more extract from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, about the Imperial Mint.

'As the successful working of the Mint,' writes Abu-l Fazl, 'increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details......... The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness. Only two officers of this department are mentioned by Abu-l Fazl, viz., the *Darogāh* and the *Shirāfi*.[2] He also gives the description of the following coins :—

A. Gold Coins.

'I. The *S'hānsāh* is a round coin weighing 101 *tolāhs*, 9 *māshāhs*, and 7 *surkhs*, in value equal to 100 *la'li Jalāli-muhurs*. On the field of one side is engraved the name of His Majesty, and on the five arches in the border,—the great Sultan, the distinguished Emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign ! Struck at the capital Āgrā.' On the reverse is the *beautiful formula* (*Kalimāh*) and the following verse of the *Qorān* : "God is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth, without measure ; and round about are the names of the first four Califs."[3]

2. There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 97 *tolāhs* and 8 *māshāhs*, in value equal to 100 *round muhurs*, at 11 *māshāhs*, each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

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1. Ibid., pp. 279-82.
2. Ibid., pp. 16-18.
3. For alterations of these 'coin-legends' later in Akbar's reign see Ibid., pp. 27-8.

KEY TO COINS OF THE EMPIRE.*

1. BĀBUR :

Obv.—in circle the *kalimah*; margin, in segments, portions of

ابا بکر الصدیق

("Aba Bekr, the faithful servant")

عمر و الفاروق

("Umar, the discriminator between right and wrong")

عثمان ابو نورین

("Uṭhman, the father of two lights")

علی المرتضیٰ

("Ali, the pleasing to god")
Rev.—within flattened *mihrābi* area,

ظهیر الدین محمد بابر بادشاه غازی ۹۳۶

above

السلطان الاعظم الخاقان المکرم

("The most great Sultān, the illustrious Emperor.")
below

خلد الله تعالیٰ ملکه و سلطنته

("May God Most High perpetuate the kingdom and sovereignty") and

ضرب لاهور

("Struck at Lahore.")

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* Prepared with the kind assistance of my colleague Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A., M.F.—AUTHOR.

2. HUMĀYŪN :

Obv.—in circle, the *kalimah.*

Rev.—خلد الله تعالیٰ ملکه . . . . . محمد همایون بادشاه غازی

(" May God Most High perpetuate his kingdom . . . . Muhammad Humāyūn Bādshāh Ghāzi.")

3. SHER SHĀH :

Obv.—in square, the *kalimah* ; margins as on No. 1 *Rev.*, in square

شیرشاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه ۹۴۸

(" Sultan Sher Shāh, may God Most High perpetuate his kingdom. 948 A.H. ")

below in Nāgari : *Srī Sēr Sāhi* (an attempt at Sher Shāh's name) margins :—

السلطان العادل ابو المظفر

(" The just Sultān, the father of the victorious ".)

فرید لدین ضرب آگره

Farīd-uddīn. Struck at Āgrā.

4. AKBAR :

Obv.—in dotted border, the *kalimah*. Names of the four companions of the Prophet, and 981.

Rev.— خلد ملکه جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی ضرب بلدة آگره

(" May God perpetuate his kingdom, Jalal-uddīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzi. Struck at Āgrā town.")

5. JAHĀNGĪR :

Obv.—Jahāngīr, nimbate, seated cross legged on throne head to left, goblet in right hand.

Around

قضا بر سکهٔ زرکرد تصویر

شبیه حضرت شاه جهانگیر

"Destiny on coin of gold has drawn the portrait of His Majesty Shāh Jahāngīr.")

Rev.—sun in square compartment in centre ; to left

ضرب اجمیر ۱۰۲۳

"Struck at Ajmer 1023."

To right یا معین

(" O thou fixed one ")

and سنه ۹

(" Year 9 ")

above and below

حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر

ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

("The letters of Jahāngīr and *Allah-u-Akbar* are equal in value from the beginning of time.")

6. SHĀH JAHĀN :

6. *Obv.*—the *kalimah*, in 3 lines ;
below

ضرب احمدآباد سنه ۲ الهی ماه خورداد

(" Struck at Ahmadābād in the month Khurdād of the *Ilāhi* year 2.")

Rev.— صاحب قران ثانی

شهاب الدین محمد

شاهجهان بادشاه غازی

سنه ۱۰۳۸

("The second Sāhib-i-Qirān, Shihab-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzi, year 1038.")

7. AURANGZEB:

Obv.—

سکه زد بر جهان چو مهر منیر

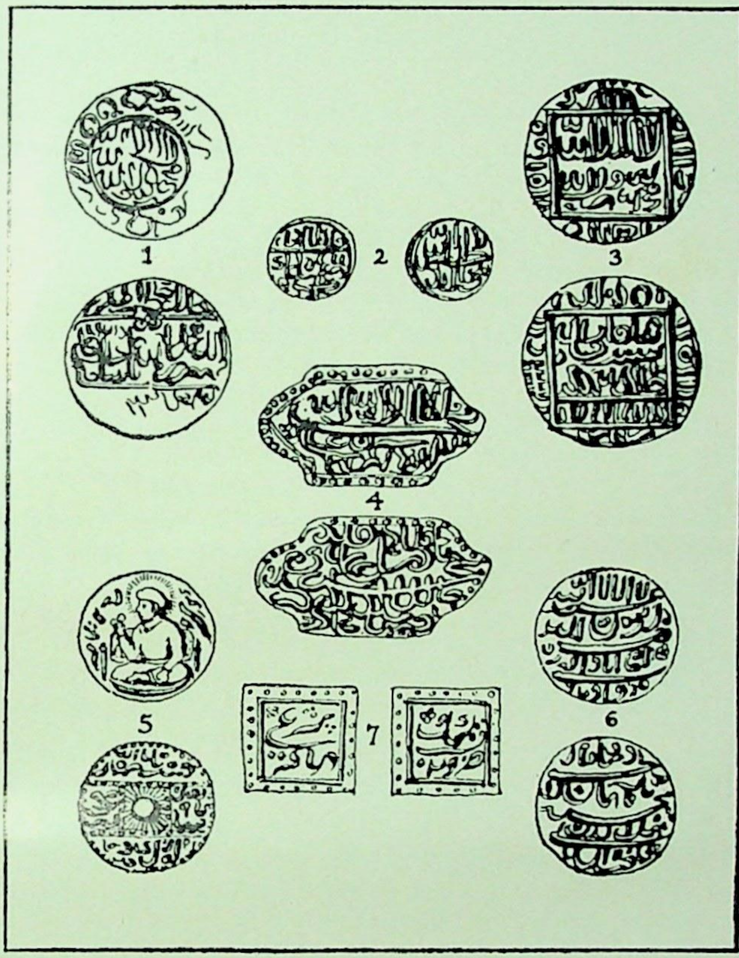
شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر ۱۰۷۲

("Struck money through the world like the shining sun Shāh Aurangzeb Ālamgir.")

Rev.— ضرب تته سنه ٥ جلوس

میمنت مانوس

("Struck at Tatta in the 5th year of the accession associated with auspiciousness".)



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

COINS OF THE EMPIRE

3. The *Rahas* is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square.

4. The *A'tmāh* is the fourth part of the *s'hānsāh*, round and square.

5. The *Binsat*, of the same two forms as the *atmah*, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-twenty-fifth of the *s'hānsāh*.

6. The *Chugul* (or *Jugal*), of a square form, in the fiftieth part of the *s'hānsāh*, in value equal to two *muhurs*.'

The description of twenty other gold coins follows. Then the *Āīn.* states, 'As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the Imperial Mint is to coin *La'li Jalālīs*, *D'hans* and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.' The first of these is 10th in Abu-l Fazl's list, and is said to be of the same weight and value as the *Ilāhī* (12 *māshāhs*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs* = Rs. 10). The second was half, and the third one-fourth of the *jalālī*.

B. Silver Coins.

'1 The *Rupee* is round, and weighs $11\frac{1}{2}$ *māshāhs*. It was first introduced in the time of Sher Khān. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, one side "*Allāhu Akbar, jalla jallāluhu*," and on the other the date. *Although the market price is sometimes more or less than 40 dāms, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.*

2. The *Jalālah* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. In value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

3. The *Darb* is half a *Jalālah*.

4. The *Charn* is a quarter *Jalālah*.

5. The *Pandan* is a fifth of the *Jalālah*.

6. The *Asht* in the eighth part of the *Jalālah*.

7. The *Dasa* is one-tenth of the *Jalālah*.

8. The *Kala* is the sixteenth part of the *Jalālah*.

9. The *Suki* is one-twentieth of the *Jalālah*.

'The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] *Rupee*, which is however different in form.

C. Copper Coins.

1. The *Dām* weighs 5 *tankās*, *i.e.* 1 *tolāh*, 8 *māshāhs*, and 7 *surkhs*; it is the fortieth part of the rupee. At first this coin was called *Paisāh*, and also *Bahlōlī*; now it is known under this name (*dām*). On one side the place where it was struck is given, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the *dām* is divided into 25 parts, each of which is called a *jetal*. This imaginary division is used only by accountants.

2. The *Adhelah* is half of a *dām*.
3. The *Paulah* is a quarter *dām*.
4. The *Damri* is one-eighth of a *dām*.'

Note.—'In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined... in many parts of the Empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, *viz.*, at the seat of the government, in Bengal, Ahmedābād, and Kābul. Silver and copper are likewise coined at the places, and at—Ilāhābād, Āgrāh, Ujain, Surat, Dillī, Patnā, Kāshmīr, Lāhor, Multān, Tandāh. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz., Ajmir, Audh, Atak, Alwar, Badāon, Banāras, Bhakkar, Bahrah, Pātan, Jaunpūr, Jalandhar, Hardwār, Hisār Fīrūzāh, Kālpī, Gwālior, Gorakhpūr, Kalānaur, Lakhnau, Māndū, Nagor, Sirhind, Siyālkot, Saronj, Saharānpūr, Sārangpūr, Sambal, Qanauj, Rantambhur.

'Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *round muhurs, rupees,* and *dāms*.'[1]

Akbar's Treasures.

The Flemish writer De Laet (1593-1649) states: The wealth of this prince can be estimated: firstly, from the size of the territories which he controls (these form an Empire larger than that of Persia and equal to, if not greater than, that of Turkey); secondly, from the fact that no one in his Empire has any possessions at all except what he holds through the prince's liberality and at his pleasure, and that he himself inherits the property not only of all dead magnates, but also of inferior persons, taking for himself as much as he pleases of what they leave; and thirdly, from the immense gifts which are bestowed upon him every day not only by his subjects but also by foreign princes.[2] Although De Laet really wrote this of Jahāngīr, his statement is equally well applicable to Akbar. Further on he observes, on the death of 'Achabar, grandfather of the prince now reigning [Shāh Jahān], his treasures were carefully counted, and were found to amount in all (including

1. For more particulars about Akbar's coinage see ibid., pp. 27-37.
2. J. S. Hoyland, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, p. 107.

gold) silver and copper, both wrought and unwrought, together with jewels and all manners of household commodities to 34 crores, 82 lacks, and 26,386 rupees (i.e., to Rs. 348,226,386¾) : of this total Rs. 198,346,666¾ was in specie of all descriptions.'[1]

This treasure included, besides fine porcelain, cloth of gold from Persia, Turkey, Guzerāt and Europe ; muslins from Bengāla, and woollen cloth from Europe, Persia, and Tartary ; also books written by great authors, beautifully bound, to the number of 24,000, estimated at Rs. 6,463,731 in value,' etc., Prof. Banerjee, commenting upon this, writes, "The inventory of the treasure of Akbar is an unique contribution of De Laet. It agrees with the later accounts of Mandelslo (1638) and Manrique (1649) .... Total comes to 40 millions. The purchasing power of money was six times greater than the pre-war rate, say, in 1914. In other words, the total brings us to the huge figure of £240 million sterling. Henry VII (who died in 1509) left £1,800,000 in bullion and was considered rich. Henry VIII debased the coinage, and Elizabeth left behind a debt of £400,000 and huge number of farthingales ! "[2]

VI. Social and Religious Reforms[3]

With all his genius for practical achievement, Akbar was essentially an idealist and a dreamer. In addition to his conquests and administrative organisation described above, he also aimed at what Abu-l Fazl calls 'the reformation of the manners of the people.' Thus, while on the one hand, he *forbade infanticide, satī,* excessive indulgence in intoxicating drinks, cow-slaughter, etc., on the other, he encouraged widow remarriage, abolished the invidious pilgrim-tax and *jiziya,* and tried to cement the differences between the two main sections of his people—Hindūs and Muslims—by setting an example of inter-communal wedding, making no distinction of caste or creed in

1. Ibid., pp. 107-9.
2. Ibid., pp. 111-12.
3. Read "Akbar's Religious Policy" by Sri Ram Sharma, in I. H. Q., XIII, 2, 3, 1937.

the conferment of high titles and offices, and above all, by attempting to establish a new faith which should be the harbinger of a new world : 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' Akbar rightly considered, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves, and at variance one with the other. . . . We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be *one* and *all* with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. *In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire*'.[1]

This glorious idealism of Akbar has been much misunderstood and misrepresented. Bartoli saw in it only Akbar's 'astute and knavish policy.' Even Vincent Smith speaks of "*The fit of religious frenzy* which assailed Akbar at the beginning of May 1578," "a symptom of the intense interest in the claims of rival religions which he manifested in 1578-79 prior to the signing of the infallibility decree in September of the latter year."[2] He further declares, "The Divine Faith was a *monument of Akbar's folly,* not of his wisdom . . . . The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, *a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy*."[3] In view of this unrestrained criticism it is necessary to go into a detailed examination of Akbar's religious and social reforms.[4]

Dīn-i Ilāhī.

Far from being the 'monument of Akbar's folly,' the *Dīn-i Ilāhī,* as the new faith was called was the crowning expression of the Emperor's national idealism. Akbar, at least in this respect, is not to be judged by the statements of the Jesuits alone. Being

1. Ac. to Bartoli, cited by Smith, *Akbar,* pp. 211-12.
2. Ibid., p. 163.
3. Ibid., p. 222.
4. In support of the view upheld in the present volume the reader is strongly recommended to read the chapter on *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* in *The Mughal Empire* by Mr. S. M. Jaffar. The opposite view is maintained in C. H. I., IV, pp. 129-132.

keenly disappointed in their expectations of converting the Emperor, these European missionaries became too prone to give credence to statements discrediting Akbar. To cite Badāunī in confirmation of the Jesuits, is only to call in two prejudiced witnesses instead of one. A fair judge ought to make sure, especially before jumping into a condemnation, that the witnesses themselves are above suspicion. We shall, therefore, consider accounts of the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* given by two rival witnesses, Abu-l Fazl and Badāunī, and try to arrive at the truth on the merits of their evidence.

'Whenever, from lucky circumstances,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their King on account of the high position which he occupies, and accept him to be their spiritual leader as well......A King will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow. Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age (Akbar) ......He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God.'[1]

This was the outlook of the age, and, as we have pointed out in our Introduction, we are not to forget that elsewhere than in India, people had not outgrown the belief : *cujus regio ejus religio.* England looked to the Tudors to save the nation, and the Tudors expected the people to behave themselves. At least under Akbar there were no 'Smithfield fires', and the King did not seek to change the creed of a nation because he desired to get rid of an old wife in order to marry her chamber-maid !

Admitting the need for a national church, there is nothing ridiculous in conceiving a new ritual. Akbar declared himself the spiritual no less than the temporal head of the State ; but

1. *Āīn-i-Akbarī,* i. pp. 163-4.

he never forced on the people any Act of Supremacy or Uniformity. 'In the magnanimity of his heart, he never thinks of his perfection,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'though he is the ornament of the world......Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shewn by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing . . .

'The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says "*Allāhu Akbar*"; and the other responds, "*Jalla Jalāluhu*". The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

'It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

'Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birth-day, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

'His Majesty has also ordered that members should abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird-catchers.

'Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.'[1]

Badāunī's Comments.

Badāunī was an uncompromising critic of Akbar's innovations. He was the very antithesis of Abu-l Fazl. He looked upon Akbar as one lost to Islām. "His historical work, entitled *Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh*," says Blochmann, "is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Akbarnāma*, or the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* or the *Maāsiri Rahīmī*. It is especially of value for

1. Ibid., pp. 165-7.

the religious views of the Emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time.”[1]

‘In this year (987-4.),’ writes Badāunī, ‘His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church ; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the Prophet, his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful Kings, as Amīr Tīmūr, and Mīrzā Ulugh Bég, and several others, had themselves read the *Khutbah* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in the public as the *Mujtahīd* of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jumada-l awwal* 987, in the Jāmi Masjīd of Fathpūr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the *Khutbāh*.........These are the verses—

“The Lord has given me the Empire,
And a wise heart, and a strong arm.
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
And has removed from thoughts everything but justice.
His praise surpasses man's understanding,
Great is His power, Allāhu Akbar !”

‘In the same year (987), a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdum-ul mulk of Sheikh Abdunnabī........of Cadr Jahān, the *Muftī* of the Empire, of Sheikh Mubārik, the deepest writer of the age, and Ghāzī Khān of Badakhshān, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences........

THE DOCUMENT

“Whereas Hindūstān has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. *Now we, the principal Ulāmās, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law, and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the*

1. Ibid., p. 104 n 2.

edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first* of the verse of *Qorān* (Sur. IV, 62.) :

'*Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you,*' and *secondly*, of the genuine tradition : '*Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imām i' Ādil ; whosoever obeys the Amīr, obeys Me ; and whoever rebels against him, rebels against me,*' and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sultān i 'Ādil* (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Further we declare that the King of Islām, Amīr of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, *Abul Fath Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Padishāh Ghāzī*, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing King. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, *for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient*, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, *we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.*

" Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, *provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qorān but also of real benefit for the nation ; and* further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

" This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and *the propagation of Islām, and is signed by us, the principal Ulāmās and lawyers ;* in the month of *Rajab* of the year 987 of the Hijrah."

Commenting on this, Badāunī writes, 'No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open ; *the superiority of intellect of the Imām was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imām became law.*[1]

1. Ibid., pp. 184-87.

The gravamen of Badāunī's charge against the innovators was their rejection of Islāmic revelation, and their intellectuality. 'The Emperor examined people,' he says, 'about the creation of the *Qorān,* elicited their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the Prophet and the Imāms. He distinctly denied the existence of Jins, of angels, and all other beings of the invisible world as well as the miracles of the Prophet and the saints ; he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our Faith, the proof for the truths of the *Qorān* as far as they agree with man's reason, etc. Akbar had boldly declared, "Man's outward profession and the mere letter of Muhammadanism, without a heartfelt conviction, can avail nothing. . . . To repeat the words of the Creed, to perform circumcision, or to lie prostrate on the ground from dread of kingly power, can avail nothing in the sight of God." (E. & D. op. cit., VI, pp. 60-61.).

In the eyes of Badāunī this was unpardonable apostacy from the orthodox faith. From this moment onwards, he and the bigoted *mullās* began to execrate everything connected with the new faith ; they had nothing but imprecations and invectives against every one connected therewith. Impotent orthodoxy raged and foamed ; it raised the head of rebellion in 1581 and died away in futile discontent. We find it still simmering in the pages of the *Muntakhab-ut* :

'The poor (orthodox) Sheikhs who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindū Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirées, and had no other place where to live, except mouseholes. . . . .

' In this year (988) low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty was the *Cāhib-i Zamān* who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islām. . . . . The *Shīahs* mentioned similar nonsense. . . . . All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.'[1]

1. Ibid., p. 190.

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'During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honour, and religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things, possessed four degrees; and whoever sacrificed one of these four, possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne.'[1]

Badāunī has here definitely begun to caricature. Badāunī was certainly not one of "all the courtiers" who had signed away their 'property, life, honour, and religion' to the Emperor; and he continued to live at the Court of Akbar for the remaining fifteen years of his life (989-1004 H.). He has himself mentioned only sixteen names of the courtiers who accepted the Divine Faith, to which Abu-l Fazl has added two. "With the exception of Bīr Bal, they are all Muhammadans; but to judge from Badāunī's remarks, the number of those that took the *Shact*, must have been much larger," says Blochmann.[2] According to Badāunī's own testimony, Rājās Bhagwān Dās and Mān Singh declined to accept the new faith;[3] they were not persecuted, but continued to enjoy their high privileges and position.

Badāunī's mortification was further accentuated by the favours (or was it only fairness?) shown by Akbar to deserving Hindūs: 'The real object of those who became disciples,' he writes, 'was to get into office; and *though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindūs,* of whom he could not get enough (?); *for the Hindūs, of course, are indispensable;* to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindūstānīs nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindūs have among themselves. But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them(?). For their honour

1. Ibid., p. 191.
2. Ibid., p. 209.
3. Ibid., pp. 198, 206.

and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not (!).[1]

Badāunī stands self-condemned out of the words of his own mouth ; in his opinion, not merely Akbar, but every one who deviated even a hair's breadth from the rigid orthodoxy of the Sunnī creed was an apostate. His fulminations, therefore, against Akbar and Abu-l Fazl are worth nothing. They are the effusions of a fanatic rankling under the reforms introduced by Akbar 'with the best of intentions.' We need consider here only the nature of these reforms. Let us follow Badāunī's own account of them :

'His Majesty was now (990) convinced that the Millennium of the Islāmic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. *The Sheikhs and Ulāmās who, on account of their obstinacy and pride, had to be entirely discarded, were gone, and His Majesty was free to disprove the orders and principles of Islām, and to ruin the faith of the nation by making new and absurd regulations.*'[2]

New Regulations.

1. The first order which was passed was, that the coinage should show the era of the Millennium (Ilāhī Era), and that a history of one thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death of the Prophet.

2. 'Other extraordinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such orders were given that one's senses got quite perplexed. Thus the *sijdāh* or prostration was ordered to be performed as being proper for Kings ; but instead of *sijdāh*, the word *zamīnbos* was used.

3. 'Wine also was allowed, *if used for strengthening the body as recommended by doctors ; but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings, and uproars.* For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick person could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 204.
2. Ibid., p. 191.

4. 'Similarly,......the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called *Shaitānpurah*, or Devils-ville. A *Darogah* and a clerk were also appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors knew of it....

5. 'Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with *Hindū libertines*, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindū princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him, as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids.

6. 'He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindū customs and *heresies* into the Court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindūs and their castes; he abstains from everything which they think is repugnant to their nature, and *looks upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him* (!). Hence this custom has become very general......

7. 'The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the Cross,....and other childish play things of theirs, were daily in practice.

8. 'It was also forbidden to marry one's cousins or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love. *Boys were not to marry before the age of 16, nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages were weakly*....[1] No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was "One man, and one wife"....[2] If widows liked to remarry, they might do so, though this was against the ideas of the Hindūs.

9. 'A Hindū girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt'.[3] 'If a Hindū woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced.'[4]

1. Ibid., pp. 191-95; see also pp. 277-8.
2. *Cf.* Smith, *Akbar*, p. 256.
3. Blochmann, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, p. 205.
4. Ibid., p. 207; E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 68-9.

10. 'Hīndūs who, when young, had from pressure become Musalmans, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. *No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked.* If a Hindū woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and change her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and be given back to her family. (Similarly with a Muhammadan woman marrying a Hindū —ac. to the *Dabistān*.[1]) People should not be molested, if they wished to build churches and prayer rooms, or idol temples, or fire temples.'[2]

All this, according to Badāunī constituted blasphemy and apostacy! It is strange that in spite of this, Vincent Smith should cite Badāunī as a witness "*of the highest value.*" "Badāūnī's interesting work," he says, "contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that emperor's life-time, and could not be published until after Jahāngīr's accession. The book, being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunnī, *is of the highest value as a check on the turgid panegyric composed by the latitudinarian Abul Fazl.* It gives information about the development of Akbar's opinions on religion, which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but *agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors.*"[3]

On the strength of the testimony of this 'hostile' and 'bigoted Sunnī witness,' Smith avers, "The general principle of toleration...., while actually put in practice concerning religions other than Islām, was not acted on in matters concerning Muhammadan faith and practice. *Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his fathers and his own youth, and actually perpetrated a persecution of Islām.*"[4]

Genesis of Akbar's Reforms.

The reforms described above were not the work of a single year; they were the product of a gradual evolution under a variety of circumstances. Akbar lived in an age of great spiritual awakening in India as well as Europe. "The six-

1. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 210.
2. Ibid., p. 208.
3. Smith, op. cit., p. 461.
4. Ibid., p. 257.

teenth century," writes Prof. Sinha, "is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The grand currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the surging up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalized her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human existence and essence of all religions, Universal Brotherhood. With glorious ideals it inspired the Hindū and Muslim alike, and they forgot for a time the trivialities of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindū, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mahdī, to the Hindū with the realization of the all-absorbing love of God."[1]

Not only were the times stirring and propitious, but Akbar was also born in a family that was deeply religious. While Bābur and Humāyūn were both men of an essentially deep faith, they took comparatively lightly the outward forms of religion, as indicated by their change of creed under political necessity. Akbar was thus early brought under the liberalising influences of his family and country. His tutor Abdul Latīf was 'a paragon of learning' and the guiding principle of his life was '*Sulh-i-kul*' or peace with all. Smith himself writes: "Akbar from early youth had been passionately interested in the mystery of the relation between God and man, and in all the deep questions concerned with that relation. 'Discourses on philosophy,' he said, 'have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.' (*Āīn.*, vol. iii, p. 386). When he came home to his capital at the beginning of 1575 he was conscious of

1. The reader will do well to read this interesting article on "The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi," by Prof. H. N. Sinha, in the *Journal of Indian History* (Madras, Dec., 1930), pp. 306-29.

having gained a long succession of remarkable and decisive victories which left him without an important enemy in the world as known to him. We are told at this time he 'spent whole nights in praising God....His heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lovely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn."[1]

As early as 1562, when Akbar was only twenty years of age, he had "experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening." "On the completion of my twentieth year,' he said, 'I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow' (*Āīn.*, vol. iii, p. 386). Commenting on this, Smith rightly observes, "It is impossible not to connect this access of religious melancholy with the public events which preceded it......He had become conscious of the weight of the vast responsibilities resting upon his shoulders, and was forced to the conclusion that he must rely on his own strength, with Divine help, to bear them.... *He never again placed himself under the control of any adviser, but mapped out his course, right or wrong, for himself*........During the years in which he was apparently devoted to sport alone, and oblivious of all serious affairs, the young man had been thinking and shaping out a course of policy. His abolition of the practice of enslavement of prisoners of war, his marriage with the princess of Amber, and his reorganisation of the finances were measures which proved that his thinking had not been fruitless. *No minister would or could have carried them through.*"[2]

In 1563, in accordance with the broad outlook which Akbar was developing, he abolished all pilgrim taxes throughout his

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 130-31. Read C. H. I., IV, pp. 119-125.
2. Smith, loc. cit., pp. 62-3.

dominions, declaring it was contrary to the will of God to tax people assembled to worship the Creator, even though their forms of worship might be considered erroneous.' The following year, 1564, he also remitted the *jiziya*, or poll-tax on non-Muslims,[1] although this involved a large loss of revenue.

Abu-l Fazl's Influence.

Smith says, with great justice to Akbar, "some writers are inclined to attribute too much influence on Akbar's policy to Abu-l Fazl. It is noteworthy that Akbar, abolished the *jizya* ten years before he made the acquaintance of his famous secretary. He had swept away the pilgrim taxes at a still earlier date. *The main lines of his policy, directed to obliterating all differences in treatment between Muslims and Hindūs, were fixed as political principles while he was still to all outward appearance an orthodox and zealous Muslim*, and long before his open breach with Islām, which may be dated in 1582, after the defeat of his brother's attempt to win the throne of India. When it is remembered that Akbar was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age when he abolished the pilgrim tax and the *jiziya*, in defiance of the sentiments of his co-religionists and the practice of his predecessors, we may well marvel at the strength of will displayed by a man so young, who a little time before seemed to care for nothing but sport."[2]

In 1575 Akbar erected the *Ibādat-khānā*, or the House of Worship, devoted to religious discussions.[3] At first it was used only by Muslim Sheikhs, Saiyids, Ulāmā, and Amīrs. Debates were held every Thursday night and often lasted on till Friday noon. But the petty wranglings of the Muslim

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 29-30. This tax was originally instituted by Khalīf Omar. In India, under Firōz Shāh Tughlak it was assessed in three grades, viz., 40, 20, 10 *tankās;* Brāhmans were charged 10 *tankās* and 50 *jitals*. It was reimposed by Aurangzīb in 1679.

2. Smith, op, cit., pp. 66-7.

3. See "Three Mughal Paintings on Akbar's Religious Discussions" by Rev. H. Heras in the J. B. B. R. A. S., III, 1 and 2 (1928). C. H. I. IV, pp. 113-114.

divines gave no satisfaction to Akbar's genuinely thirsty soul. Let us follow Badāunī's description of the state of things that made Akbar seek other fountains to slake his thirst :—

'For these discussions, which were held every Thursday night, His Majesty invited the Sayyaids, Shaikhs, Ulāmās, and grandees, by turn. But as the guests generally commenced to quarrel about their places, and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side ; the Sayyaid on the west side ; the Ulāmās, to the south ; and the Shaikhs, to the north. The Emperor then used to go from one side to the other, and make his enquiries......, when all at once, one night, the vein of the neck of the Ulāmā of age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me (Badāunī), "In future report any of the Ulāmās that cannot behave and talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall." I gently said to Āsaf Khān, "*If I were to carry out this order, most of the Ulāmās would have to leave,*" when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him.'[1]

"The differences between the two parties of the Ulāmā, one of whom denounced as heretical notions declared by the other to be the truth, confirmed Akbar in the opinion that both parties were in error, and that the truth must be sought outside the range of their bickerings."[2] He therefore now turned for enlightenment to Parsees, Jainas, Christians, and Hindūs. Or, in the words of Abu-l Fazl : 'The Shāhinshāh's Court became the home of the inquirers of the "seven climes," and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect.'[3]

The Zoroastrians.

According to Smith, Akbar probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Pārsees, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his '*odd,* (?) detached manner.'[4] Dastūr Maherjee Rāṇā of Nausārī had the privilege of initiating Akbar into the mysteries of this

1. Blochmann, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. p. 171 ; E. & D., op. cit. VI, pp. 59-60.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 162.
3. *Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 366.
4. Smith, op. cit., p. 162 ; read also ibid., p. 165 n 3.

religion in 1578-79. They had first met near Khankra Khari during Akbar's Gujarāt campaign in 1573. After his death in 1591 the famous Dastūr was succeeded by his son at Akbar's Court. He was granted a *jāgīr* of 200 *bhīgās* of land (100 acres), which was later on increased by one half. From 1580 Akbar publicly prostrated before the sun and fire, and in the evenings when the lamps were lighted it became the practice for the whole Court to rise respectfully. According to Badāunī he ordered that dead bodies should be buried with their heads towards the east (rising sun). 'His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position.'[1]

The Jainas.

"The evidence available," writes Dr. Hirānanda Shāstrī,[2] "would show that Akbar learnt the *Sūrya-sahasra-nāma* from a Jaina teacher of his ......The list given by Abu'l Fazl names three Jaina *gurūs* for whom the Great Mughal had a very high regard. The *Hīravijaya kāvyam* shows that the stoppage of animal slaughter was due to the teaching of Hīravijaya Sūrī on whom Akbar had conferred the grand title of *Jagad-gurū* or the Preceptor of the World. The Ādīsvara temple on the holy hill of Śatruñjaya near Palitāna in Kāthiāwār has a long Sanskrit inscription written on its walls which combines the praise of this Jaina monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowing what the Great Mughal did under the noble influence of the Jaina saints. Vincent Smith has rightly remarked that 'Akbar's action is abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in issuing stringent prohibitions, resembling those of Aśoka restricting to the narrowest limits the destruction of life, certainly was taken in obedience to the doctrine of his Jaina teachers.' The colophon of the commentary on the *Kādambarī* would show that Akbar read the *Sūryasahasra-*

1. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 206.
2. "Akbar as a Sun-Worshipper," *The Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta, March, 1933), pp. 137-40. Also read "Jainism under Muslim Rule", by K. P. Jain, in the *New Indian Antiquary*, I, 8, pp. 519-20.

nāma with Bhānuchandra whom Hīravijaya Sūrī had left behind after his famous visit to Akbar. Siddhichandra, the joint author of the said commentary, and a disciple of Bhānuchandra, was another teacher of the Great Mughal."

The Christians.

In the preceding chapter we have already dealt at length with Akbar's relations with the Jesuits from whom he desired to know the truth of Christianity. Badāunī accuses Akbar of adopting the Cross 'and other childish playthings of theirs.' Smith says, "The contribution made to the debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to renounce (?) the Muslim religion."[1] But if the Fathers expected to have in Akbar an Imperial convert to their religion, they were sorely miscalculating. Yet, we cannot agree with Smith when he declares, "Probably Akbar was *never perfectly sincere* when he used expressions implying belief in the Christian religion. It may be true that *he preferred it, on the whole, to any other religion,* but....His interest lay chiefly in the study of the subject now called 'Comparative Religion,' and was *prompted by intellectual curiosity rather than by an awakened conscience.*"[2] He is nearer the truth when he says, "He went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable ground for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindū, a Jain, or a Christian. Nevertheless, he could not bring himself to accept frankly any one of the four creeds, however much he might admire certain doctrines of each, or even practise some parts of the ritual of all four."[3]

Akbar's interest in religion was deeper than the mere 'intellectual curiosity' of a student of 'Comparative Religion.' In 1578 (May), then in his thirty-sixth year, Akbar suddenly returned from a great hunt on the Jhelum, for which he had

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 168.
2. Ibid., pp. 255-6.
3. Ibid., p. 165. Also read "Christianity at the Courts of Akbar and Jahāngīr" by E. F. Allnutt, in I. H. Q., XII, 2 (1936), and C. H. I., IV, pp. 124-5.

made elaborate arrangements, when in the words of Abu-l Fazl, 'a sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame ; the attraction of the cognition of God cast its ray.' This strange experience is confirmed by Badāunī who writes, 'suddenly, all at once, a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifest in his manner to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other ; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned : 'Take care : for the Grace of God comes suddenly. It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise !'[1]

Smith in his comments on this peculiar incident is characteristically sceptical (cynical ?) :

"He (Akbar) gave vent to his religious emotion by the *fantastic freak* of filling the Anūptalāo tank in the palace at Fathpūr-Sīkrī with a vast mass of coin, exceeding, it is said ten millions of rupees in value, which he subsequently distributed.

"That is all we know about the mysterious occurrence. The information is *tantalizing in its meagreness*, but probably never gave any fully intelligible account of the spiritual storm which swept through him as he sat or lay under the tree. *Perhaps he slept and had a dream, or, as seems to be more likely, he may have had an epileptic fit.*" (!) He is perhaps nearer the mark when he confesses, "No man can tell exactly what happened......when, like Dante, he was '*nel mezo del cammin di nostra vita*,' 'in the middle of life's path,' and, like the poet, saw a vision, *beholding things that cannot be uttered.*"

"Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sūfī friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality—*He was not an ordinary man, and his complex nature, like that of St. Paul, Muhammad, Dante, and other great men with a tendency to mysticism, present perplexing problems.*[2]

1. Cited by Smith, op. cit., pp. 158-9.
2. Ibid., pp. 159-61.

The Hindūs.

Such a nature could hardly escape from the liberal idealism of the Hindūs who surrounded him like the very air he breathed. His policy towards the Rājputs, the most militant section of the Hindūs, has already been commented upon. He took to himself Hindū wives as symbolic of the intimate union he wished to cultivate between the two largest sections of his subjects. He exalted Rājās Mān Singh, Bhagwān Dās, Bīr Bal, and Todar Mal to the highest ranks given to any noble in the realm. He adopted Hindū dress and religious symbolism to such an extent as to tantalize and scandalise orthodox Muslims like Badāunī. To his utter chagrin he set Badāunī the task of translating into Persian the sacred books of the infidels like the *Mahābhārat.*[1] 'The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun......to please the Hindūs......His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether...... His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names of the Sun collected, and *read* them daily, devoutly turning to the Sun (like the Hindūs worshipping *Gāyatrī*).... He also adopted several other practices connected with the Sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindū mark on the forehead, and ordered the band to play at mid-night and at break of day.......Once a year also during a night, called *Śivrāt*, a great meeting was held of all *Jogīs* of the Empire, when the Emperor ate and drank with the principal *Jogīs*, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men.... Cheating, thieving Brāhmins....told the Emperor that he was an incarnation (*avatār*), like Rām, Kishn, and other infidel Kings...... In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanskrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient

1. Read "Sanskrit Scholars of Akbar's Time" D. C. Bhattāchārya, in the I. H. Q. XIII, 1, 1937.

sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise in India, who would honour Brāhmins and cows, and govern the earth with justice. *They also wrote this nonsense on old-looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it.*'[1]

SOME ESTIMATES OF AKBAR

To enforce the view of Akbar herein presented, we might close this brief study of Akbar with a few well-known opinions and estimates of his character and achievements.

Jahāngīr's Memoirs : 'My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion : especially the Pandits and the learned of India, and *although he was illiterate,* so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and wise, in his conversation with them, that *no one knew him to be illiterate,* and he was so well-acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions, that his deficiency was not thought of.

'Notwithstanding his kingship, his treasures and his buried wealth and past computation, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, and never for one moment forgot him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding.

'He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day ; the length of his sleep during a whole night and day was not more than a watch and a half. He counted his wakefulness at night as so much added to his life.'

Col. Malleson : "Akbar's great idea was the union of all India under one head....His code was the grandest of codes for a ruler, for the founder of an empire. They were the principles by accepting which his western successors maintain it at the present day. Certainly, though his European contem-

1. Blochmann, op. cit., pp. 200-1.

poraries were the most eminent of their respective countries (Elizabeth in England and Henry IV in France), he need not shrink from comparison even with these. His reputation is built upon deeds which lived after him.... The foundations dug by Akbar were so deep that his son, although so unlike him, was able to maintain the Empire which the principles of his father had welded together.

"When we reflect what he did, the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognize in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends, in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions." (*Akbar*, pp. 196, 199-200).

Stanley Lane-Poole : "The noblest king that ever ruled in India" (p. 288). "The true founder and organiser of the Empire" "Represents the golden age of the Mughal Empire." (p. 238) "Assimilation of the Hindū chiefs was the most conspicuous feature of Akbar's reign".... "The remarkable points about this expansion.... were, *first*, that it was done with the willing help of the Hindū princes, and *secondly*, that expansion went hand-in-hand with orderly administration. This was a new thing in Indian government, for hitherto the local officials had done pretty much as it pleased them, and the central authority had seldom interfered so long as the revenue did not suffer. Akbar allowed no oppression—if he knew of it—by his lieutenants, and not a few of his campaigns were undertaken mainly for the purpose of punishing governors who had been guilty of self-seeking, and peculation. Much of the improvement was due to his employment of Hindūs, who at that time were better men of business than the uneducated and mercenary adventurers who formed a large proportion of the Muhammadan invaders (pp. 259-60).

"There is no name in mediæval history more renowned in India at the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruc-

tion of the revenue system." (p. 261). "Todar Mal's order (to keep all accounts in Persian), and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindūs to compete for the highest honours,—Mān Singh was the first commander of 7,000—explain two facts : *First,* that before the end of the eighteenth century the Hindūs had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans ; *secondly,* that a new dialect could arise in India, the *Urdu,* which, without the Hindūs as receiving medium, could never have been called into existence." (*Medieval India,* pp. 265-66).

Edwardes and Garrett : "Akbar has proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. He was a born leader of men and can rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history . . . During a reign of nearly fifty years, he built up a powerful Empire which could vie with the strongest, and established a dynasty whose hold over India was not contested by any rival for about a century. His reign witnessed the final transformation of the Mughals from mere military invaders into a permanent Indian dynasty." (*Mughal Rule in India,* p. 53).

Vincent Smith : "The practical ability displayed by Akbar as a soldier, general, administrator, diplomatist, and supreme ruler has been shown abundantly by his whole history and does not need further exposition. The personal force of his character, discernible even now with sufficient clearness, was overpowering to his contemporaries . . . . .

'He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements." (*Akbar the Great Mogul,* pp. 352-3.)

Ishwari Prasad : "Dr. Vincent Smith, relying upon Jesuit sources, dwells upon Akbar's artfulness and duplicity in state craft and speaks of his 'tortuous diplomacy and per-

fidious action .... Dr. Smith forgets that Akbar's great contemporary Elizabeth lied shamelessly, and Green goes so far as to assert that in the profusion and recklessness of her lies she stood without a peer in Christendom. The vile methods and intrigues of other monarchs in France, Spain, and elsewhere are too well known to need mention. Akbar was undoubtedly superior to his contemporaries both in intellect and character, and his policy was far more human than theirs. Against the few acts of inhumanity and breach of faith attributed to him by Dr. Smith it is possible to mention a hundred deeds of generosity and benevolence. *Accurate and impartial research by whomsoever conducted will reveal Akbar to have been in many respects a greater man than his European contemporaries.*"

(*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 436-7.)

Lawrence Binyon :—"His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organisation,—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Though a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practice worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government. (pp. 8-9)......There is something engaging in Akbar's faults and weaknesses, which were not petty, but rather belonged to the things which made him great. He was above all things human." (*Akbar*, p. 23).

He also thinks Smith "curiously unfair to his hero." *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 9, 1932, p. 415, reviewing Binyon's interesting study of Akbar, wrote of 'Akbar's religious attitude, on which our estimate of his character largely depends.'—"In this particular Mr. Binyon goes near indeed to the truth. He shows the great Emperor as liable from time

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to time to be overwhelmed by a sense of the emptiness of life, by a strong desire to find some sure abiding place, but seeking it in vain. Restlessly he turns from sect to sect in the faith in which he was reared. Finding no satisfaction in their dialectic, he summons the teachers of every religion within his call. Jain and Pārsi, Brāhman and Jesuit, each is heard with attention and respect ; but for one reason or another each fails to hold the Emperor. The Brāhman is too subtle for his practical mind ; the Jesuit demands an obedience which he cannot give ; the Pārsi attracts him most and he finds a ghostly comfort in that ceremonial. *Those who have seen in Akbar's religious search a mere political seeking for a faith in which his people might be united have surely seen but the surface of the truth, and have not penetrated, as Mr. Binyon does, to the man himself.*"

K. T. Shah : "Akbar was the greatest of the Mughals and perhaps the greatest of all Indian rulers for a thousand years, if not ever since the days of the mighty Mauryas. But, without detracting in the least from the genius of the man of the inheritance of his birth, it may yet be said that Akbar was so great, because he was so thoroughly Indianised. His genius perceived the possibilities, and his courage undertook the task, of welding the two communities into a common Nation by the universal bond of common service and equal citizenship of a magnificent Empire. Akbar was a born master of men, and bred an autocrat in an age of despotism. It would be unjust to criticise him by the canons of another age, or from the standpoint of other ideals. Within the legitimate limits of a most searching criticism, there is much—very much indeed,—in his life and outlook and achievements which must demand our unstinted, unqualified admiration, and little that could merit just censure."

(*The Splendour that was Ind,* p. 30.)

E. B. Havell : "Akbar has shared the fate of all great reformers in having his personal character unjustly assailed,

his motives impugned, and his actions distorted, upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination........He was neither an ascetic nor a saint of the conventional type; but few of the great rulers of the earth can show a better record for deeds of righteousness, or more honourably and consistently maintained their ideals of religious life devoted to the service of humanity. In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious; but in his endeavours to make the highest religious principles the motive power of State policy he won an imperishable name in Indian history and lifted the political ethics of Islām into a higher plane than they had ever reached before.

"It does not detract from his greatness as a man and ruler that his achievements fell short of his ideals—that the Dīn Ilāhī did not accomplish the spiritual regeneration of the ruling classes or wipe off the slate all the records of previous centuries of misgovernment, and that his schemes did not embrace a full recognition of the ancient Āryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other Empire in the world. But Akbar's endeavours to realise the Āryan ideal are still worthy of imitation both by British rulers of India and by all statesmen for whom politics is a religion rather than a game of craft and skill."

(*Āryan Rule in India,* pp. 536-7.)

Lord Tennyson: Last but not least, Tennyson's charming colloquy "Akbar's Dream" sums up the best of Akbar in a nut-shell. A few significant verses from it may be given with profit: "His tolerance of religions," writes the anonymous editor of the poet's works, "and his abhorrence of religious persecution put our Tudors to shame......and his legislation was remarkable for vigour, justice, and humanity."

Akbar to Abu-l Fazl:

[*Before the palace at Fathpur-Sikri at night.*]

"But come,
My noble friend, my faithful counsellor,
Sit by my side while thou art one with me,
I seem no longer like a lonely man
In the King's Garden, gathering here and there
From each fair plant the blossom choicest grown
To wreathe a crown not only for the King,
But in due time for every Musalmān,
Brāhmin, and Buddhist, Christian and Pārsee,
Thro' all the warring world of Hindūstān.
. . . .
Look how the living pulse of Allā beats
Thro' all His world. If every single star
Should shriek its claim : 'I only am in heaven,'
Why that were such sphere-music as the Greek
Had hardly dream'd of. There is light in all,
And light, with more or less of shade in all.
. . . .
I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let them worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I cull from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend.
. . . .
The Christians own a Spiritual Head ;
And following thy true counsel, by thine aid,
Myself am such in our Islām, *for no*
Mirage of glory, but for power to fuse
My myriads into union under one ;
To hunt the tiger of oppression out
From office ; and to spread the Divine Faith
Like calming oil on all their stormy creeds,
And fill the hollows between wave and wave ;
To nurse my children on the milk of Truth,
And alchemise old hates into the gold
Of Love, and make it current ; and beat back
The menacing poison of intolerant priests,
Those cobras ever setting up their hoods—
One Allā ! One Khalīfā !"

Read, " A Sidelight on Akbar's Genius," in *The Muslim University Journal*, Vol. III, 1 (1936).

Sir Wolseley Haig : "The Age of Akbar has been described as an age of great rulers, and some hold that of his contemporaries, Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, and 'Abbās the Great of Persia, he was not the least. Some have written of him as though he were no less than what his enemies alleged he pretended to be. But with all his faults, and they were neither few nor venial, he was by far the greatest of all who ruled India during the era of the dominance of Islām in that land. A foreigner in blood, though he happened to have been born on Indian soil, he was the only one of the long line of rulers professing Islām who even conceived the idea of becoming the father of all his subjects, rather than the leader of a militant and dominant minority, alien in faith, and to a great extent in race, to the nations of India.......................

"In spite of his illiteracy he was far from being unlearned, nor was his intellect uncultivated, for he delighted in listening to the reading of works of history, theology, philosophy and other subjects, and of discussing afterwards what had been read, and his memory was such that he acquired through the ear a stock of learning as great as that which most of his associates could acquire through the eye. The Jesuits at his court were probably not biased in his favour, but one of them thus describes him :

'Indeed he was a great king ; for he knew that the good ruler is he who can command simultaneously, the obedience, the respect, the love, and the fear of his subjects. He was a prince beloved of all, firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men high and low, neighbour or stranger, Christian, Saracen, or Gentile ; so that every man believed that the King was on his side. He lived in the fear of God, to whom he never failed to pray four times daily, at sunrise, at sunset, at mid-day, and at midnight, and despite his many duties, his prayers on these four occasions, which were of considerable duration, were never

curtailed. Towards his fellowmen he was kind and forbearing, averse from taking life, and quick to show mercy. Hence it was that he decreed that if he condemned anyone to death, the sentence was not to be carried into effect until the receipt of his third order. He was always glad to pardon an offender, if just grounds for doing so could be shown.'

(*The Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 153-55).

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